REMEMBERING THE FORGOTTEN LEGIONS:

THE VETERANIZATION OF BRITISH

WAR HORSES, 1850-1950

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This work is dedicated to Rocky, the war horse of my childhood.

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Abstract: My dissertation, entitled, "Remembering the Forgotten Legions: the Veteranization of British War Horses, 1850-1950," looks at the changing perceptions of war horses in the British military and society from nationalized brute resources to war veterans during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. I assert that the industrialization and mechanization of the British military and society precipitated a transformation in human-animal relations during the world wars. This technological supplantation of war horses created higher instances of soldier-animal bonding in warfare, which led to a reevaluation of the war horse's moral and veteran status in the military. Along with this change in soldier perceptions, the wartime activities of British animal welfare societies allowed for a discussion of veteran status and memorialization of war animals in mainstream British society during the interwar period. This discussion helped to establish in the minds of many at all levels of British society the contemporary sentiment that military service confers veteran status on war animals.

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CHAPTER I

SUPPLANTATION, BONDING, AND VETERANIZATION: AN INTRODUCTION

A Washington correspondent for the *St. Louis Beacon*, Rob Koenig, wrote in a June 2012 article that the Great War was an "equine holocaust." Some sixteen million horses were employed during the First World War with as many as eight million perishing between 1914 and 1918.[1] Contrary to many popular visions of the Great War as having been dominated by machines, the First World War can be viewed as a "hybrid" conflict, involving the merger of pre-industrialized modes of warfare (animals) and modern modes of warfare (mechanization) to produce the first total and industrialized war of modern times. The Industrial Revolutions dramatically altered the landscape of British society during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, exposing foundational issues and allowing for the evolution of society in terms of humanitarian concerns. This dissertation, entitled *Remembering the Forgotten Legions: the Veteranization of British War Horses, 1850-1950,* proposes that the First World War deeply affected British society, changing British military perspectives on the employment of war horses, bringing about a greater awareness of animal welfare during and after the war, and the reconceptualization of British war horses into veterans during the World Wars. As the title suggests, the purpose of my project is to discuss the interplay between technology, war, moral status, and memory.

[1] Terry Kinloch, *Devils on Horses: In the Words of the ANZACS in the Middle East, 1916-1918* (Auckland, NZ: Exisle Publishing, 2007), 33.

As part of the concept of total war, Britain nationalized vast sections of its animal population for the war effort, effectively transforming them into national resources similar to that of coal and iron. During the course of the war, these brute animals were converted into war veterans through changes in military policies, the work of animal welfare groups, and through the confrontation of the human-animal bond with modern, industrialized/mechanized technology. During World War I, the nationalization of British war horses led to an extension of nationalism to war animals, which greatly affected soldier and civilian attitudes during and after the war. The process of converting war animals from brute resources into veterans began on the battlefields with the war-altered musings and actions of soldiers and animal welfare activists. The changing perceptions of war animals were quickly disseminated among the civilian population by the continuing work of the welfare groups and the returning veterans; however, the animal combatants' veteran status was not fully conferred until after the Great War with the establishment of commemorations and memorials. In the beginning, veteran status was only given to a select few former combatants; however, through the interwar-period efforts of the animal welfare groups, veteranization became a common occurrence by the end of the Second World War. The total mechanization of warfare and the removal of animals as frontline-laborers aided this process during the interwar era and World War II.

Content and Argument

I contend that British war horses experienced a process I have termed as "veteranization," from the Crimean War to the end of the Second World War. My work shows that changes in military policies and attitudes, changes in the topography of British animal welfare, and the rise of mechanization led to society's reassessment of the status of war horses in the military, essentially converting them from nationalized resources to national veterans in less than a hundred years.

All of my research, drawn from soldier's letters and memoirs, military propaganda, agricultural statistics, horse censuses, annual reports from various animal welfare organizations, animal welfare periodicals, animal welfare propaganda, animal welfare education pamphlets, photographs, paintings, and newsreels, has shown that the changes that I am suggesting were subtle in nature.

The Industrial Revolution had begun in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century and by the Crimean War in the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain had moved toward incorporating industrialized technology into the art of war with the inclusion of railroads in war logistics and transportation. The British paired railroad technologies with war horses in Crimea as a way to more efficiently move supplies from the ports to the battlefields. This original use of industrialized technology supported rather than supplanted war horses. This experience in the Crimean War continued during much of the latter half of the nineteenth century as the military, or British society for that matter, felt little pressure to attempt the total supplantation of British war horses before the First World War.

But by 1902, politicians, ministers, animal welfare activists, and military leaders began to push for partial if not total mechanization; however, this notion remained fanciful until the invention of the assembly line system on the eve the Great War. It was not until this innovation entered the factory system that technological supplantation on both the home front and on the battlefield seemed realistic and achievable, and yet, it would take until the 1950s for horses to become completely decommissioned as a ubiquitous labor force in Britain.

By 1914, the ultimate goal for both society and the military was to only remove horses used for long distance transportation, as mechanized and motorized technologies were too expensive and fragile for a majority of the British population to employ routinely. Military leaders hoped that this strategy of limited supplantation would curtail the rising expenditures of industrialized, total war. They also hoped that by pairing machine and horse, the military, and thus, society, would experience an improvement in efficiency and output by reducing the number

of required horses in all fields and occupations; however, this limited supplantation tactic actually increased the military and societal horse populations due to the increasing size of modern armies on the battlefield.

Politicians, activists, and military leaders of all belligerent countries pushed during the Great War for militaries to exploit mechanized vehicles whenever possible, in hopes of avoiding the huge equine expenditures and losses similar to those seen in the Franco-Prussian War and the Anglo-Boer War. Horses, especially in the British military, were replaced routinely on the lines of transportation from the railhead to within a few miles of the front; however, due to the pulverization of the landscape and the fact that the years surrounding the Great War were some of the wettest on record, automobiles were useless at the front because of unsatisfactory road construction and maintenance of miles of mud on the Western Front. Horses were also replaced in the role of generalized reconnaissance by aircraft, which could more efficiently locate enemy lines and movement through the addition of photography. The government had high hopes for a new war machine in 1915 and 1916 as the military debuted the tank on the Western Front. The British War Office hoped that the tank would replace the cavalry on the Western Front, as the inclusion of the machine gun and the use of trench warfare had led to the reduced effectiveness of the cavalry on the battlefield. However, owing to supply shortages, a lack of mechanical training, production backlogs, terrain difficulties, and budget cuts during the Great War and the interwar period, the tank would not become a force for supplantation until the Second World War. But technological supplantation, helped by illustrating the moral status of animals compared to machines, removed large numbers of animals from the battlefield, allowing for higher incidences of bonding and the more pervasive view of war animals as military pets. Finally, mechanization also increased the visibility of animal suffering in war.

During the interwar period technological supplantation began to seem plausible and even inevitable. Taking its lead from the United States, Britain completely overhauled its manufacturing industry for mechanized vehicles, allowing the military to begin experimenting

with greater numbers and types of mechanized vehicles, despite the raging debate over the complete de-horsing of the British military during the period. The military continued to debate the advantages and disadvantages of total mechanization, with horse advocates firmly convinced that the military needed to continue to maintain a substantial horse population for cavalry, pack, and transportation requirements, particularly over rough and difficult terrain. Another reason for the delayed obsolescence of the war horses in the British military in the years surrounding the Second World War was the military intelligence that the Wehrmacht remained heavily dependent on war horses, especially on the Eastern Front. The British military became the first completely mechanized force in 1939 with the removal of horses from final cavalry units in the Middle East; however, the military continued to employ war horses throughout the Second World War as pack animals in Southeast Asia and Italy.

By the end of the Second World War, the horse had become an outmoded war asset for the industrialized, victor nations. The war horse was relegated to the roles of military commemoration and policing across the globe, as the Western Powers continued to use horses in operations during the Cold War and into the new millennium. The decline of the British war horse began during the Crimean War but did not gain transformative momentum until the Great War. The process took more than thirty years, as changes in British society, industry, and military delayed obsolescence. The period from 1850 to 1950 is one of the most important transitional periods in global history for both society and warfare, leading to a variety of foundational, structural, cognitive, and emotional changes that altered the view of war horses in the modern age. My research refocuses the existing literature on the effect of bonding on the moral and veteran status of war horses. Most of the existing literature examines the basic use of war horses, thus providing them with a formal narrative. My work goes beyond this first generation analysis of war horses, as well as the second generation research on representations of animals in society, and looks at the societal discussion surrounding the use of horses, their representations in word and image, and their place in collective memory. My research shows that

both soldiers and activists were involved in changing the discussion and image of the war horse in British society and both groups played an instrumental role in redefining the term "veteran" to include war horses. The definition of veteran changed over time as society redefined the term and attached both positive and negative consequences of the status. Because of the Great War, the definition of the term changed to mean a selected group of society defined by service and sacrifice, a group who deserved special treatment based on said service and sacrifice, including honor and remembrance. Finally, my work on war horses helps to integrate the history of the Great War with the history of human-animal relations beyond mere utility and economics.

In the nineteenth century, the British military, as well as a majority of British society, viewed horses in the same way that we view cars today, as a means of transportation and labor, completely devoid of consciousness. So, for example, eighty percent of the war horses were killed during the Crimean War, and neither society nor the army raised great issue with this wastage. It was just seen as a natural consequence of war. In the mid-nineteenth century, the cavalry used the horses to break enemy lines, if the enemy did not scatter during the charge. Men rarely cared for or rode the same mount for an extended amount of time, leading to a general lack of compassion, sympathy, or empathy for the war horses.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, we see the first signs of a changing perspective regarding war horses. During the Boer War, over 500,000 horses and mules died due to mismanagement by the Remount Department. The government convened a hearing on the issue of the high equine wastage rates in 1903, concluding that changes were required to both the Remount Department and the Veterinary Services as a whole before another large scale conflict broke out. Between 1902 and 1914, the British army redesigned their horse management manuals, reorganized the Veterinary Services into the Army Veterinary Corps (AVC), and established a new field-operating system for it. In contrast to the policies of the last one hundred years, the army trained both officers and soldiers to treat their equines like comrades and to care for them as if they were their personal property. Both of these policies increased the incidents of

soldier-animal bonding in peace time, which the army hoped would reduce future wastage both on the home front and on the battlefield. When the First World War erupted in August 1914, the British possessed only 25,000 war horses. In a matter of sixteen days, the military had impressed 165,000 horses for the war effort and began purchasing further remounts from North America. Over the course of the war, the British army and its Territorial forces would employ close to one million equines on all fronts. In general, the military elites, due to their rank and focus on the overall strategy, continued to view horses as an expendable resource, though the horse population had now been nationalized as if they were part of a factory-system or industry. Horses continued to be used in all areas of the war effort from the cavalry to the artillery and from pack labor to timber and communication management.

Because of the necessity of horses in many areas of the war effort, the army attempted to reduce its wastage rates as often as possible to conserve funding. The most significant military reducer of equine waste was the newly professionalized AVC. Through the use of modern veterinary practices, the new operating paradigm and troop education, the AVC was able to return nearly eighty percent of its 2.5 million cases back to active duty. The work of the AVC had enabled the army to reduce it overall annual wastage rates from eighty percent during the Crimean War and 120 percent in the Anglo-Boer War, to thirty percent between 1914 and 1918. One indirect consequence of the work of the AVC was a "humanizing" effect on the use of the war horses in the military, as a high percentage of animals were reunited with their military owners; this allowed for further attachment by soldiers to their war horses.

On the battlefields, due to many of the new policies instituted after 1902, soldiers began to view their chargers differently, with more empathy and compassion. The primary literature is filled with examples of intense bonding between soldiers and their horses. I was able to find not only examples of soldiers calling for better treatment of the horses based on their use in the war but also examples of soldiers risking their physical well-being for their animals. And in more

than one case, I found soldiers referring to their war horses as veterans and ruminating on the proper treatment of their horses after the war based on their status as "war veterans."

After the Armistice, the AVC was in charge of reducing or casting the majority of the war horse population on the British-occupied fronts.[2] The army repatriated some 65,000 horses, both personal mounts and animals for sale to civilians; the rest were to be sold off in an attempt to recoup a portion of the wartime equine expenditures. For many soldiers, the effect of this casting policy was stressful and even painful as soldiers were separated from their wartime charges; this separation led to a variety of reevaluations regarding the use and disuse of equines in war.

During the interwar period, the two chief concerns for the military were memorialization and mechanization. During the 1920s and 1930s, many local, national, and international monuments were constructed to remember British soldiers; however, one aspect of the military memory that appeared to remain secondary was the work of the war horses as well as other war animals. Images of war horses were routinely included in the design of many war memorials. However, they were never a focal point for the military memorial. Indeed, when the animal welfare organizations began discussing this very issue, the organizations were chided by newspapers, the government, and the public for not focusing on the human elements of the war, as the military monuments did. The best examples of the military's focus on the human foreground and the equine background (or the absence of horses in public memorials) are the Cavalry Memorial in Hyde Park, the Royal Field Artillery Memorial in Hyde Park, and the Guards Memorial in St. James Park, where the horse is just a functional object in the structure. We can compare this to the 58th London Division Dying Horse War Memorial located on the Somme in France, which was a more personalized monument, commissioned by soldiers, compared to those listed above. The Dying Horse War Memorial was designed in the mid-1920s by Henri-Désiré Gauque, who was known for his art's focus on animal bodies.

[2] Casting is the process by which the Army sells off its equine assets after their service. John Moore, Major-General, *Army Veterinary Service in War*. London: H. & W. Brown, 1921.

The other military focus during the interwar period was on the further mechanization of the armed forces after the Great War. Military leaders did not dispute the necessity of mechanization and motorization in the military; the crux of the heated debate was on the degree to which mechanization should occur and that question of continued reliance and equines in transportation and the cavalry. The mechanization debate continued right up to the outbreak of the Second World War for the British. While the British mechanized their armies in the early days of the war, Britain remained on the fence regarding the deployment of war horses, mainly owing to the knowledge that Nazi Germany remained heavily "horsed" during the entire war. The army officially decommissioned its last mounted corps/division in Palestine in 1939; however, rather than casting its surplus war horses, these animals were transferred to other divisions during the war, most notably to Southeast Asia and Italy, where rough terrain meant a severely reduced employment of motorized vehicles.

After World War II, war horses were occasionally used by the British army in such conflicts as in Hong Kong in the 1950s and the Falklands in the 1980s. However, they were used as policing or pack animals, because of their superiority to automobiles on rough terrain. By 1950, almost all of the war horses in the Western World had been retired and sold, so the military memory of them turned to the Great War since the Cold War, and to the deeper social connections felt by soldiers toward their changes during the height of the equine deployment and sacrifice. Much of this resurgence and emphasis on horses in the First World War is due to writings, memorials, and photographs compiled by World War I veterans, which has been distilled by artists in the numerous versions of *War Horse* by Michael Morpurgo or in the photographs and personal musings of civilians on social media, particularly regarding the Household Cavalry and contemporary animal memes.

While the military aspect of veteranization plays a major role in the changing perceptions of war horses as a whole, I would argue that British animal welfare organizations during this period were more influential in bringing the process of veteranization from the isolated realm of

the British military to the wider view of British society. My two chapters on the role of the British Animal welfare organizations in veteranization of war horses contend that their routine publicity and emphasis on the visibility of British war horses helped to make the process mainstream over the course of the twentieth century.

Although many animal welfare laws had been proposed at the turn of the nineteenth century, the first animal welfare law, also known as Martin's Law, was passed in 1822 and made the abuse of chattel a punishable offense. Two years later, the first national animal welfare organization, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), was formed. Across the nineteenth century, legislation was piecemeal, and covered a wide variety of animals and uses for animals, culminating in the passage of the world's first comprehensive animal welfare law in 1911. The organizations used a technique known as "the window of truth" to expose cruelty, because it was believed that seeing cruelty makes it more real.[3] This technique was used to help shape societal views on animals and continues to be employed into the twenty-first century. For much of the nineteenth century, the SPCA, which was given royal status by Queen Victoria in 1840 (RSPCA), focused on developing a cohesive system for education about and prosecution of animal abuse in British society and British Colonies. After the establishment of the RSPCA, more individualized societies were founded many of which focused on specialized concerns for the plight of animals. These included rest homes for horses, societies against vivisection, and many others.

The first major war monitored by animal welfare organizations was the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, when Prussia and France each used over a million horses and many times left them along battlefields and roads when injured. However, the conflict that galvanized the animal welfare movement in Britain was the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). After the carnage in South Africa, many groups, led by the RSPCA, called for major changes in military policies regarding

[3] The "window of truth" is a technique whereby animal welfare activists, and later the animal rights movement, visually document animal cruelties and then display the images for public education and discourse. This technique is still employed by animal welfare and animal rights groups today.

the treatment of war horses. The first public memorial to war horses was erected by animal welfare organizations at Port Elizabeth in South Africa to commemorate the war horses and mules sacrificed during the war. The RSPCA called for the creation of mobile veterinary units on the battlefield during war despite the government and the army saying that the policy change was impractical. The RSPCA also advocated the application of the Geneva Convention to individuals on all sides of a conflict who worked to help wounded war horses on the battlefield beginning in 1899. The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 were the first conflicts in which numerous animal welfare societies played an active, if small, role in the animal war effort; numerous groups including the RSPCA and Our Dumb Friends' League (ODFL) raised funds for veterinary supplies and assistance to horses affected by the conflicts, This would stand as a test run for the societies in the coming days of the First World War.

At the outbreak of the Great War, many animal welfare organizations offered assistance to the War Office, but their offers were rejected. As the war progressed and the veterinary services were hit harder and harder, the War Office reversed its decision, saying that the RSPCA and only the RSPCA would be allowed to raise funds and supply "luxury" veterinary items to the British military. The other main society, Our Dumb Friends' League, offered its services and Blue Cross Fund for war horses to the French military when its services were rejected and officially banned within the British forces by the War Office.

These societies raised money to provide veterinary supplies to the Allied war effort, mostly for the British army. Both the RSPCA and the ODFL's Blue Cross Fund published propaganda in the forms of posters, magazine articles, collections of poetry, postcards, pamphlets, and works of art, all of which emphasized the work of the AVC and brought public attention to the plight of Allied war horses. Their propaganda was intended to provoke sympathy for and empathy with the war horses. Both societies routinely referred to war horses on the fronts as "our comrades" and "our friends." Much of the artwork illustrated a variety of wartime conditions, including the suffering of animals in war, with the best example being the Blue Cross Fund's

"Goodbye, Old Man." I argue that it was the wartime work and propaganda of these organizations that planted the seeds of veteranization in the public consciousness of British society during the Great War.

After the Armistice, the animal welfare organizations turned their focus on the military casting process, but this action did have a great effect on military policies and attitudes immediately after the war. During the interwar period, the RSPCA focused on pushing the public to remember the service of war horses, writing yearly in its magazine about "veteran" war horses and what they were doing after the war, and calling for a memorial to all of the animals employed in the British war effort. The RSPCA attempted repeatedly during the 1920s to erect a formal memorial, but found its efforts criticized or ignored by the public and authorities. Finally, in 1932, the RSPCA was able to erect a functional memorial in the form of the Animals War Memorial Dispensary in Kilburn, London.

During the 1920s and 1930s, most animal welfare organizations went back to focusing on pre-1914 welfare concerns such as prosecuting animal cruelty, education, and ending the worn-out horse trade to the Continent. It was not until the early 1930s that British war horses again gained national and international attention of British animal welfare societies, with the testimonies about cruelty to former British war horses coming out of Egypt, the formation of the Old War Horse Fund by Dorothy Brooke in 1931, and the establishment of the Old War Horse Hospital in 1934, later known as the Brooke Hospital. After the foundation of the Brooke Hospital, other organizations such as the ODFL and the RSPCA began to pressure the government to find other old war horses in France and in Belgium. By 1939, with the threat of total mechanization looming, the animal welfare movement pushed publically for the government and the military to end its policies on casting war horses to local populations deemed to irresponsible to care for the former war horses. In 1939, the animal welfare movement succeeded as the government and army promised to reallocate all decommissioned war horses, reallocating useable animals and destroying unusable surplus animals rather than selling them to locals.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the groups once again offered support to the War Office, this time with the inclusion of the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals (PDSA); once again, only the RSPCA was officially recognized by the War Office to aid the British army. Many animal welfare organizations concentrated on helping the RAVC, supplying aid to Finnish horses in the war against the USSR, aid for Soviet horses after Operation Barbarossa, soldiers' mascots and pets, captured animals after the fall of Nazi Germany, air raids and animals on the home front, and animal welfare in previously occupied countries. But because of the mostly discontinued use of war horses, animal organizations were able to focus on other British war animals, the home front, and animals of Britain's Allies. The animal welfare societies continued to promote the close connections between soldiers and war animals through propaganda, education, and the creation of the Dickin's Medal, nicknamed the Animal's Victoria Cross by the PDSA, given to animals for their service under fire, including three police horses in London during the Battle for Britain. [4]

The RSPCA, the Blue Cross, the PDSA, the Brooke, and many others have continued to this day to promote the humane treatment and veterinaization of war animals by bringing the plight of war animals to the attention of the public, made easier in the time of the internet and social media. The culmination of their efforts to cast war animals as veterans and as equal partners in wartime can be seen with the erection of the Animals in War Memorial in Hyde Park in 2004. This memorial is dedicated to all war animals from horses and dogs to elephants and glow worms. It makes it very clear that animals have played and continue to play a significant role in warfare and therefore are veterans in their own right.

[4] The Dickin's Medal is named after the founder of the organization, Maria Dickin. David Long, *The Animals' VC: For Gallantry and Devotion: The PDSA Dickin Medal* London: Preface, 2012.

The Literature

For primary sources, I relied on archival documents from the British Library, the Imperial War Museum, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Blue Cross, the Brooke, the National Army Museum, and the National Archives at Kew. I used a variety of primary sources including, military training manuals, military statistics, soldiers' letters and memoirs, military visual propaganda, newsreel footage, committee reports, census data, newspapers, animal welfare annual reports, animal welfare periodicals, animal welfare visual propaganda, military and national war memorials, animal welfare memorial, and letters from civilian and veterinarians regarding the work of specific animal welfare organizations during the World Wars. Much of this archival evidence was used to support the established narrative regarding the employment of horses in the military and in society as well as to ascertain the attitudes of soldiers and welfarists toward war horses and to redefine the definition and image of the term "veteran."

With the socio-cultural nature of my project, much of my research was informed by the "cultural turn" in historical research in the last few decades. A natural consequence of this refocused study was the incorporation of the history of animals into the historiography. This new cultural turn emphasized the artifacts, perceptions, and memory of society. It is the memory booms of the twentieth century that helped to bring about the "cultural turn" by the 1990s, according to Jay Winter, as the subjects of culture history abound, untapped for historians.[5] One of the most important untapped subjects of cultural history, until recently, is animals. According to Swart, "Horses have been too ubiquitous, in a way, to catch the historian's eye. Perhaps it is the very centrality of animals to human lives that has previously rendered them invisible - at least invisible to scholars intent on mainstream history or the (aptly labeled) humanities more

[5] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 48.

generally. … Yet horses are everywhere in the primary sources. … They occupied material and symbolic spaces, helping to buttress the shifting socio-political orders and looming large in rituals of social differentiation."[6]

The history of horses is a further expansion on New Social History, or bottom-up history, which gained prominence in the 1960s, for animals are truly the bottom of the historical hierarchy in many ways.[7] While this analysis owes a great deal to New Social History, it does rely heavily on aspects of cultural history such as the study of memory and visual culture. Prior to the animal turn of the late 1980s and early 1990s in historical studies, the focus on animals in the literature was more on the owner than the owned; however, with the growth of human-animal studies since the writings of Harriet Ritvo, among others, the animal has begun to come to the foreground of historical studies for its own sake and not just the sake of its owner's history. While much of the animal studies literature focuses on environmental history of animals, the field is truly interdisciplinary, pulling from both the humanities and the sciences, including, for example, history, sociology, biology, psychology, and anthropology just to name a few.[8] Animal studies is a natural outgrowth of environmental history.[9] According to Swart, "The animal turn encompasses a continuing process of inclusion, normalisation and gradual mainstream acceptance of the animal as subject, object and even agent."[10] Animals can be viewed through the lens of material culture, ideology, social history, food culture, literary culture, war culture, and commemoration/memory culture to name a few.[11]

Five categories of the secondary literature influenced my research on war horses and veteranization; those categories are: the socio-cultural history of the First World War, the history of industrialization and technology, memory studies, animal history, and the history of war

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[6] Sandra Swart, *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa* (Johannesburg, SA: Wits University Press, 2010), 1-2.
[7] Ibid., 5-6.
[8] Ibid., 2-3.
[9] Ibid., 6-7.
[10] Ibid., 10.
[11] Ibid., 4.

animals. Examples of the socio-cultural history of the First World War include works on agriculture, literature, masculinity, propaganda, and veterans. I read a wide variety of monographs and articles, covering numerous aspects of the socio-cultural history of the Great War. Avner Offer's *The First World War: an Agrarian Interpretation*[12] was very helpful, as I had not contemplated the affect of agriculture on the course and outcome of war prior to reading his work. I found his theory on the implications of American agriculture on British agriculture to be an important tie in to the supplantation of horses in British society beginning in 1914. Another work that shaped my theories of veteranization was Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory.*[13] Fussell discusses the importance of memory and trauma to our interpretation of war and war artifacts, specifically literature. Joanna Bourke's work, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War*[14], played an important role in my theory of veteranization, as I expanded her theories on the industrialization of the soldier's body and applied them to war horses. My work discusses the standardization of war horses in work and death and I conclude that, in many ways, Bourke's theories can be applied to the routine experiences for war horses during the Age of Industrialization. The socio-cultural history of the First World War focuses almost exclusively on human combatants and their experiences during and after the conflict. If horses are mentioned, which they rarely are, the animals are passed over as ineffectual objects with little to no historical agency or contribution, this is where my research expands on the existing literature.

Stephen Ward's *The War Generation: Veterans of the First World War*[15] helped prime my research on veteranization with his summaries of postwar experiences for veterans in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. This comparison study allowed me to craft my theories

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[12] Avner Offer, *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[13] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).
[14] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[15] Stephen Ward, *The War Generation: Veterans of the First World War* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975).

on the societal attitudes toward veterans during the period under investigation and helped me to expand the definition of the term "veteran" to include war animals. Veteran history is part of the ever-expanding focus of socio-cultural history of the Great War, but they all focus on the human component and assume a constant definition of the term "veteran." Most veteran-centric works focus on the war experiences of veterans or the postwar experiences of disabled veterans such as Deborah Cohen's *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939*; Niall Barr's *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans, Politics, and Society, 1921-1939*; and John Kinder's *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran*, to add to Bond's work on war generations.[16] My work confronts the assumed definition of the term "veteran" and expands it to incorporate the deployment and war experiences of war horses. I included expansive sections of literature on the history of veterans in war, not just the Great War, and George Robb's *British Culture and the First World War* heavily influenced my work.[17] This work discusses a wide-variety of cultural issues in British society during the Great War, including race, gender, class, propaganda, art, technology, and memory. His work on propaganda, technology, and memory were the most helpful for my foundational understanding of the history of British culture during the apex of my research period.

Studies of the general trajectory of science and technology were most helpful in creating a baseline for my theories on war horse supplantation and veteranization. Daniel Pick's *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age*[18] discusses the rise of the slaughterhouse motif and the influence of industrialized and mechanized technology to European warfare during the Age of Total War. I incorporated his theories on industrialization and slaughter to explain the changes in military attitudes toward war horses. Kenneth Macksey's

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[16] Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2003); Niall Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans, Politics, and Society, 1921-1939* (New York: Praeger, 2005); John Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[17] George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
[18] Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Technology in War: The Impact of Science on Weapons of Modern Battle[19], discusses a variety of innovations in war weapons during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He provides a general history of technology in war period my period and included information on airplanes, tanks, machine guns, gas, and flamethrowers. Tim Armstrong's *Modernism, Technology, and the Body: A Cultural Study*[20] provides information on changing views regarding the human body through the lens of industrialized technology. As with Pick, I used Armstrong's theories to discuss the changes in the military regarding the employment of war horses as well as general war horse economics. In Clay McShane's *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* [21], I learned about the general decline and supplantation of horses in modern society as well as reasons other than technology for their disappearance from modern daily life. The final work that I relied heavily on was Martin van Crevald's *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton.*[22] Van Crevald discusses the history of logistics during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and focuses on the incorporation of mechanized technologies such as the railroad and the automobile to replace the horse in transportation. This section focuses on the "march of progress" rather than the actual pragmatic approach to technology displayed over time. Most works emphasize the move from horse to machine without drawing attention to the fact that the horse remained a significant factor in the process of mechanization until after the 1950s. Most research discusses only the impracticality of the horse as compared to the machine or how industrialization and mechanization developed by leaps and bounds rather than as part of a more gradual process by which equines were routinely paired with technology until well after the Second World War.

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[19] Kenneth Macksey, *Technology in War: The Impact of Science on Weapons of Modern Battle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986).
[20] Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology, and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[21] Clay McShane, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011).
[22] Martin Van Crevald, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

The history of memory entered mainstream historiography in the 1980s and 1990s. The most influential work of this category has to be Jay Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*.[23] In his work, I discovered his theories on the memory booms of the twentieth century as well as the major types and functions of memorials in modern society. I applied his theories on the memory boom, memory construction, and war memorials to the rise of animal memorials and the increasing importance of remembering animals in war. Another highly influential work on my project is George Mosse's *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*.[24] In this work, he discusses the rise of the "cult of the fallen" in European Society, the trivialization of war experiences, and the changing purpose of war memorials. In particular I depended upon his theories of memorials as shrines to the fallen, as that is how animal memorials developed over the period. K.S. Inglis's *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*[25] discusses memorials throughout the British Empire. The majority of memory histories ignore the effect of animals on human memory as well as the position of animals in memory itself. They are completely left out of the conversation; however, in recent years, historians such as Hilda Kean and other, including myself, have begun to explore this hidden aspect of history, especially centering on public history and visual culture.

Of all of the categories in my historiography and bibliography, animal history is probably the most diverse, despite its focus on animals. Animal history does not have a well-defined historiography as compared to that of the First World War; it is a product of the 1960s' new social history scholarship and Foucauldian cultural history of the 1970s and 1980s. Animal history can be divided, in general, into three main genres: the history of animal employment; the history of the rise of the animal welfare movement; and the history of visual and literary

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[23] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[24] George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[25] K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006).

representations of animals in society. Animal History, in effect, is the history of human-animal relations, hence, the incorporation of human thoughts and activities toward animals throughout this category. Harriet Ritvo's *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*[26] focuses on the ways that animals and animal cruelty was perceived during the Victorian Age, and includes discussions on hunting, fashions, zoos, and art and gave a foundation to the use and perspectives animals in British society leading up to the Great War. Hilda Kean's *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800*[27] helped to shape much of my research on war horses and veteranization. The work looks at the social, political, and philosophical changes surrounding the animal welfare movement in Britain from the Enlightenment to the Cold War and includes research on animal welfare legislation, welfare organizations, animals in war, and animal rights. I used Kean's research as a foundation with which to build my theories on veteranization. There is a larger bibliography on the rise of the animal welfare movement in Britain, but Kathryn Shevelow's *For the Love of Animals: The Rise of the Animal Protection Movement*[28] best helped me to understand the history of the moral status of animals in Britain prior to the twentieth century. I also used the multi-volume publication on the cultural history of animals in Western Civilization, with Katherine Kete's *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*[29] being the most helpful for my own research on the changing view of animals in society. Finally, I relied heavily on Margaret Derry's *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing Culture, 1800-1920*[30] for information on the use of horses in Western Society and changes in society that influenced the decline of the working horses and the rise of the leisure horse. Most of the works in this category focus on establishing

[26] Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).
[27] Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998).
[28] Kathryn Shevelow, *For the Love of Animals: The Rise of the Animal Protection Movement* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2009).
[29] Katherine Kete, ed., *A Cultural History of Animals, in the Age of Empire* (New York: Berg, 2007).
[30] Margaret Derry, *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

the historical narrative of human-animal relations or animals' representations in material culture. This section of the literature is only now exploring the effects of human-animal relations on memory and commemoration.

Until the last decade, the history of war animals has been a fairly neglected portion of the historical scholarship. Many of the secondary sources written on the subject are picture books, general survey textbooks, or are books that briefly cover in passing the information on mascots, animal heroes, and unique uses of war animals, rather than studies of the historical logistics and effects of animals in war. Much of the traditional literature focuses on the employment of war in logistics and in the cavalry, such as John Singleton's "Britain's Military Uses of Horses, 1914-1918"[31] and the Marquess of Anglesey's *The History of the British Cavalry, 1816 to 1919.*[32] Other aspects of war animals have been explored, including the use of non-equine war animals, animal welfare organizations in war, and the role of animals in memory construction. Jilly Cooper's *Animals in War*[33] helped to provide background information to the use of different species of war animals in the British military. Works on the wartime activities of animal welfare organizations, especially Carmen Smith's *The Blue Cross at War*[34], gave me background information on the causes and activities of these societies and helped me to craft my theories on their contributions to the process of veteranization during the World Wars. Finally, Hilda Kean's "Moment of Greyfriars Bobby: The Changing Cultural Position of Animals, 1800-1920" from the work *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*[35] illuminated the subject of the moral and cultural status of animals in war for my research. This section of the literature focuses exclusively on placing animals within the historical context of war: how they are obtained, used,

[31] John Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," *Past and Present* 139 (May, 1993): 178-203.
[32] Marquess of Anglesey, *The History of the British Cavalry, 1816 to 1919* (vols. 1-6. London: Leo Cooper, 1973-2014).
[33] Jilly Cooper, *Animals in War: Valiant Horses, Courageous Dogs, and Other Unsung Animal Heroes* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2002).
[34] Carmen Smith, *The Blue Cross At War. Based on the Annual Reports of Our Dumb Friends' League* (Windsor, Berkshire, UK: Reedprint, 1990).
[35] Hilda Kean, "Moment of Greyfriars Bobby: the Changing Cultural Position of Animals, 1800-1920," *A Cultural History of Animals, in the Age of Empire* (Kete, Katherine, ed. New York: Berg, 2007).

and sacrificed in combat. My work goes beyond this basic narrative focus and looks at the effects of the employment of war horses on humans and animal welfare discourse.

This is a study of human-animal relations combined with the socio-cultural themes of collective memory formation, nationalism, postwar disillusionment, and cultural schizophrenia surrounding the notion of animal welfare. It also relies strongly on historical studies of nationalism, economics, political activism, and visual history. The secondary literature of World War I has focused almost exclusively on industrialization, mechanization, and technology in war with the use of animals appearing as either a footnote to the history of the war or as a string of interesting factoids for the reader. This project demonstrates how one might reintegrate the history of animals in warfare in First World War Studies to produce a more comprehensive understanding of the importance of the Great War to the formation and transformation of modern society.

Sandra Swart contends that horses change human history not only on the macro level, but also on the personal level, through their interactions with humans. Swart believes that horses, like humans, have agency not only to affect their environment but to affect historical events as well; she notes that the agency of horses can alter the ecology of a location, affected the pace of technology, and even resist the implications of human power (in Foucauldian terms). According to Swart, the main source of the horse's agency is environmental, their domestication and their effects on local ecology. While I agree that horses have environmental agency, I believe that much of the historical changes affected by horses is due to the human-horse relationship in society. It is the relationship between humans and equines that alters society and charts the course of events, particularly military events. Modernism and modern warfare was about the human-machine interface and, by extension, the animal-machine interface. Swart also argues that "Like the veterans themselves, the equine warriors were agents of lasting change, and the imperial exchange meant a two-way transformation," meaning that military action altered horse breeds and stock throughout the United Kindom and the global community. It was only recently,

since 1950, that this human-horse interface has declined in terms of its power to dictate change. Much of the decline in the horse's power in social agency is due to its decline in importance to the daily life of society; this decline was caused by the industrial revolutions. [36]

John Singleton argues that despite the fact that horses "were as indispensable to the war effort [during the world wars] as machine guns, dreadnoughts, railways and heavy artillery," they are routinely forgotten due to "our fascination with the history of technology."[37] It was the Industrial Revolution(s) that gave birth to the age of total war and, thus, set the world on the path to the First and Second World War at the turn of the twentieth century. Daniel Pick believes that the age of total war began during the American Civil War for the United States and during the Franco-Prussian War for the Europeans.[38] The rise of industrialized warfare eroded the traditional limitations on battle timetables and increased the length and deadlines of modern war through the increased use of attrition strategies on the battlefield. Armies were able to throw millions of more resources, both living and inanimate, into their battle tactics, leading to wars of mass production and mass expenditures.[39] The Industrial Revolution fundamentally altered the face of war, giving rise to the "creation of a mass-consumer, mass-production society," which transferred its principles of mass communication, mass production, and mass logistics to the development of modern, industrialized armies during the second half of the nineteenth century.[40] Jensen and Wiest theorize that the Industrial Revolution gave rise to the idea that society was nothing more than a series of biological systems, manned by millions of individual, human cogs; this, they write, easily applies to the rise of the modern, industrialized militaries, where every

[36] Swart, *Riding High*, 77-105, 135, 201-11.
[37] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 167.
[38] Pick, *War Machine*, 178.
[39] Warren Chin, "Technology, Industry, and War, 1945-1991," *War in the Age of Technology: Myriad Faces of Modern Armed Conflict* (Geoffrey Jensen and Andrew Wiest, eds. New York: New York University Press, 2001), 42.
[40] Ibid., 42.

soldier was only a small spoke in the wheel of war.[41] One can see this mentality coming into contemporary form during the late nineteenth century; however, the theory was not fully actualized until the Great War. The traditional mentality of the British military during the period from 1870-1945 illustrates this point, especially regarding the treatment and employment of British war horses, which had not been "cogs" in the war machine since domestication. Adas notes that the First World War saw the shaping of the slaughterhouse motif for soldiers and the idea that "the 'engines of war' grind on relentlessly" and reduce men to" slaves of machines" is, oddly enough, the very situations to which war horses had been positioned for centuries.[42]

As Pick points out, the creation of assembly-line slaughterhouses in the 1860s, the use of railroads and other technology to transport animals to the abattoir, and the fact that the slaughter of animals quickly became "hidden" from view helped to isolate violence towards animals and became the perfect metaphor for the Age of Total War.[43] The assembly-line system led to the standardization and sterilization of the slaughter-industry in the twentieth century, not unlike the standardization of society due to the railroads and factories.[44] With this industrialization of the slaughterhouse, the animal body was processed into a commodity, a process which was later applied to modern warfare and the modern soldier, especially in the Great War.[45] Modern, industrialized warfare did not routinely bring soldiers face to face with their targets; however, unlike with the industrialized slaughter industry on the home front, where violence to animals was hidden from view, soldiers were forced to see on a daily basis the industrialized suffering of

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[41] Geoffrey Jensen, "The Meaning of War in a Technological Age," *War in the Age of Technology: Myriad Faces of Modern Armed Conflict* Geoffrey Jensen and Andrew Wiest, eds. (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3.
[42] Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 369.
[43] Pick, *War Machine*, 178-180.
[44] Ibid., 180-82.
[45] Ibid., 184.

their own and of horses at the front, which invariably changed relationships between humans and animals on and off the battlefield.[46]

At the heart of this project are the effects of human-animal bonding on the course of British society. I assert that the intense bonding between soldiers and war horses in the face of the slaughter of the Great War led to the application of the term "veteran" to animals within the military and British society. According to Ann Hyland, there exists a Polish proverb stating that "A man without a horse is like a body without a soul."[47] For much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the British military and British animal welfare organizations supported such a view, not only due to the utility of the horse in daily life but also due to the rise of pet-keeping in society. According to Swart, "by the late nineteenth century, British equestrianism had become integral to the national identity."[48] Many in society also saw the welfare of horses as an important aspect of Britishness; however, this was a very recent development, occurring during the nineteenth century.

In *Rites of Spring*, Modris Eksteins discusses the idea that the experiences of the First World War isolated veterans from the general public and solidified a universal bond between the veterans.[49] One can easily apply this stance to the unusual bond that arose during the First World War between soldiers and their equine charges, as soldiers were also isolated with their animals. It was common for soldiers to lament the suffering of horses during the Great War, as Jack Seely noted "the silent suffering of the wounded horse as he stands quietly bleeding to death is an ineradicable symbol of the horror of war."[50] Swart argued that "including horses in human history does more than simply complete the story - it changes it. The history of the horses in this

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[46] Robb, *British Culture*, 202.
[47] Ann Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era: The Boer War to the Beginning of the Second Millennium* (Stockton-on-Tees, UK: Black Tent Publications, 2010), 177.
[48] Swart, *Riding High*, 120.
[49] Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 229-33.
[50] Brough Scott, *Galloper Jack: The Remarkable Story of the Man who Rode a Real War Horse* (Compton, Newbury, Berkshire, UK: Racing Post, 2012), 261.

war has offered a useful way into understanding changing human-animal relations as emotions and actions were heightened in combat, which caused subterranean social currents to rise to the surface".[51]

Most veteran histories take for granted that we know what the criteria is for veteran status, that the definition itself if constant and unchanging, but like most words, we have seen the term achieve a new fluidity in the last few decades within society that forces us to re-evaluate the definition of the term "veteran" to include animals. For instance, when does one convert from a soldier/combatant to a veteran? Is it when the war ends or when the war ends for that individual? Is fighting the only criteria for the label or is it more about service and sacrifice in the line of duty? Has the term become synonymous with "survivor"? These are all questions that inform and influence this study on war horses and their agency in society.

Memory studies and commemoration are essential to my presentation. Jay Winter notes that the first "memory boom" occurred from the 1890s to the 1920s and focused on "memory as the key to the formation of identities, in particular national identities, although social, cultural, and personal identities were also in mind," while the second "memory boom" occurred in the 1960s and 1970s and focused on healing and confronting the horrors of the Second World War and the Holocaust.[52] According to Winter, as the first "memory boom" gave way to the second after the Second World War, the focus shifted in remembrance and commemoration to also include civilians. A major divergence from this theory can be found in the memorials to animals in war; these memorials began from a place of victim-remembrance and expanded to include work of animals in war.[53] Winter shows that unlike the first "memory boom," which flooded society immediately after the Great War, the second "boom" did not immediately affect society as victims were slow to share their stories, thus, society was slow to incorporate their memories into

[51] Swart, *Riding High*, 135.
[52] Winter, *Remembering War*, 18.
[53] Ibid., 6.

its collective memory and collective commemorations. We can see elements of both booms in the veteranization of war horses.[54]

Winter asserts that memory develops and is transformed through its initial construction, its adaption by society over time, and the way society circulates those memories. Collective memory changes over time as society changes and, thus, in many ways is a social construct. According to Winter, memory is always "socially framed" by both the individual and the group. He goes on to conclude that because of this fact, "all war memorials have a 'shelf life,'" and thus their purpose, functions, and meanings are not static. Memorials have a form of social agency or are a force that influences the agency of society.[55] Winter argues that war memorials have a type of "social agency" all their own; however, it is tied up with society's cultural memory of those events and monuments.[56] "Commemoration is the collective representation of a shared view of a past worth recalling," and it is society, or at least aspects of society, that determine the parts of history worth remembering. Prior to the twentieth century, commemoration of war was private and focused on the individual. This focus changed with the Great War, when "war had become everyone's business," not just local and regional.[57] Winter states that collective memory is most notably shaped by memory agents, or individuals, groups, and objects that push society to navigate different versions of events and, therefore, different versions of memory and remembrance. Both the military and animal welfare organization during my time period were excellent at employing "memory agents" such as publications, film, illustrations, and photographs to shape the landscape of memory during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and with that public opinion on contemporary issues.[58]

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[54] Ibid., 27.
[55] Ibid., 22, 31, and 140.
[56] Ibid., 138-139.
[57] Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio, and Jay Winter, ed., *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20.
[58] Ibid., 25-26.

Public memorials, as we think of them today, are a relatively recent phenomenon. According to Arnold Whittick in 1946, there exist four types of war memorials: "the memorial which expresses mainly death, sorrow and mourning; the memorial which expresses religious belief and takes the form of thanksgiving to God; the memorial which expresses mainly triumph and victory; and the memorial which expresses mainly the spirit of life, of re-creation and revival, the value to the living of that for which men fought and for which sacrifice was made. Here is also a sense of gratitude."[59] The majority of the war memorials seen after the Great War, including those to animals, fall into the first and fourth categories; I contend that these two types of memorials are linked during the Great War and that memorials involving war animals use aspects of both of these types of memorials to bring attention to the plight of war animals, especially war horses. Since the American Civil War, many memorials have grown out of a desire for a "permanent record of the dead."[60] Many of these memorials expressed an "indebtedness of the living to the fallen and the near universality of loss."[61] George Mosse says that the role of the fallen was to act as symbolic heritage in public spaces, hence, the role of war memorials took on a new importance to national remembrance. "War monuments provided a local focus for the "cult of the fallen," since traditionally war monuments and not the graves of the fallen had served to memorialize their sacrifice."[62] Mosse notes that for most of the nineteenth century, war dead received little commemoration or public remembrance. Rarely did they have their own cemeteries or even private burials. The only commemorations they received were in "poetry and prose."[63]

The first military cemeteries came during the Franco-Prussian War for the Europeans; the United States is a vastly different story due to the Civil War. The Anglo-Boer War was one of the first wars in which the ordinary British soldier was commemorated, although mostly on a

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[59] Arnold Whittick, *War Memorials* (London: Country Life Limited, 1944), 6.
[60] Ibid., 1.
[61] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 85-86.
[62] Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 80 and 99.
[63] Ibid., 44-45.

local and regional level. During the First World War, Europe, including Britain, attempted to "systemize" the burial of war dead and, thus, "systemize" commemoration and remembrance for society. War monuments were not new by the twentieth century, as the Napoleonic wars had memorials, but what was new in World War I was the creation of nationalized memorials to the fallen.[64] It was after the First World War that we see the development of "national shrines" to the "cult of the fallen" across Western Society. These "shrines" could be on the local, regional, or national levels but the memorials that gained the most focus were those that fulfilled remembrance for the nation, such as the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and the Cenotaph in London. According to Mosse, after the Great War, war memorials and military cemeteries across Europe "honoured the individual soldier" as well as "a nation of comrades" in their philosophy and design.[65] For war horses, we see a similar trajectory as both military-associated individuals and animal welfare organizations erected monuments to the nation's animal duty and sacrifice in war.

It was during the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries that the types and locations of animal commemoration began to change: from private pet cemeteries (like the one on the north side of Hyde Park) to statues in public to celebrate special animals (such as the Brown Dog Statue in Battersea Park). It is from this latter type of commemoration that the memorials to unnamed animals arose (such as memorials to working animals and war animals); the trend for the creation of generalized animal memorials was coupled with the rise of the unknown warrior or soldier phenomenon of this period, as illustrated by Winter and Mosse.[66] Keen asserts that public commemorations of animals during this period blurred the lines between reality, narrative, and representation and are an important way in which humans redefine their relationships with animals.[67] Finally, it was during the first memory boom that there was a

[64] Ibid., 46-47.
[65] Ibid., 48-49 and 93.
[66] Kean, "The Moment of Greysfriars Bobby," 33-35.
[67] Ibid., 43-45.

movement for memorials to be of "social service," meaning that they needed display utility. This did not always materialize in human memorials, but almost always did in animal ones until contemporary times when animal memorials were erected for the sake of the animals.[68]

The Chapters

I have organized my research thematically and chronologically. My project begins with the influences of industrialization on the use of horses in British society, moves onto the major changes in army policies and soldiers' attitudes toward war horses, and ends with the influences of British animal welfare organizations on societal perspectives of war horses as veterans.

Chapter two, "The Gradual Technological Supplantation of War Horses, 1850-1950," focuses on the supplanting of war horses from the late nineteenth century to the end of the Second World War due to the rise of industrialization, mechanization, and total war. I chart the decline of war animals, mainly war horses, in British military activities due to the Industrial Revolution, the Technological Revolution, and the changing attitudes toward the use of animals in war. Topics covered include the pairing of war horses with railroad technology during the Crimean War and the rise of mechanized war technologies that lead to the decline of the war horse by 1950. The focus is on the incorporation of railroads, machine guns, modern artillery, automobiles, airplanes, and tanks into the military infrastructure during the Age of Total War. Finally, I discuss the consequences of incorporating these technologies on military policies and attitudes as well as the importance of mechanization on supplanting the horse in British society. I argue that one of the reasons for the transformation of war horses into veterans was due to the delayed supplantation of war horses and horses in general in British society, as new mechanized technology remained costly until the creation of the assembly line. The assembly line and the

[68] Whittick, *War Memorials*, 4.

restructuring of the British factory system led to the end of the war horse and its counterpart the work horse.

Chapter three, "Military Polices, Budgets, and the Foundations of Veteranization, 1850-1914," focuses on the changing military policies and perspectives on the use of war horses from 1850 to 1914. I show that the seeds of veteranization were planted within the British military during the decades leading up to 1914, as industrialization and a dramatic increase in equine wastage rates (most notably the Anglo-Boer War) forced the British military to reevaluate and restructure many of its training and operating policies involving war horses. These policy changes included the standardization of training manuals, the formation of a professional Army Veterinary Corps, and the encouragement of soldier-horse bonding on the battlefield.

Chapter four, "The Consequences of Military Economics on Soldier-Horse Bonding during the Great War," focuses on the transformation of military policies and perspectives regarding war horses during the World Wars. The chapter deals with the importance of the shared experiences of soldiers and war horses in creating intense social bonding during the Great War, war horses as a non-human alternative for soldiers' emotion on the battlefield, and the compassion and empathy felt by many soldiers for the suffering of animals on the battlefield. I explore the work of the AVC and its humanizing effect on the use of war horses in the Great War.

Chapter five, "The Effects of Castings and the Memorialization of Horses on Soldier Bonding and Veteranization, 1919-1950," focuses on the continued employment of war horses in the military after the First World War and how their roles in war changed over time as both society and the military embraced total mechanization by 1950. This chapter looks at the widespread casting of British war horses after the Armistice by the Army Veterinary Corps and the effect this process had on many veterans. I also show the place of the war horse in military memory during the interwar period and examine the debate over the continued use of the war horse in the military as Europe combated Nazi Germany.

Chapter six, "The Rise of British Animal Welfare Interests in Horses in War and Soldier-Horse Bonding, 1850-1914," discusses the role of many prominent animal welfare organizations in the shaping of British attitudes toward both the use of horses in society and the military. After a brief discussion of the rise of the animal welfare movement in Britain, including the major philosophical changes that led to the creation of the five major animal welfare laws from 1822 to 1911, this chapter traces the reprioritizing of many animal welfare societies to include military and wartime animal welfare concerns. I briefly deal with the societal attention paid to war horses particularly during the Franco-Prussian War and the Anglo-Boer War. Finally, I focus on animal welfare causes from 1900 to 1914, most notably, the pressure for the establishment of mobile veterinary units, an extension of the Geneva Convention to wartime equine care workers, and the worn-out horse trade in Britain due to the Second Industrial Revolution.

Chapter seven, "Bonding and Veteranization in the War Efforts of Animals Welfare Societies during the World Wars," examines the war efforts of prominent animal welfare organizations including the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, Our Dumb Friends' League (The Blue Cross Fund), and the Purple Cross Society in the Great War. Here I investigate these groups' wartime activities, writings, and effects on the British military and the home front. The focus is on the images and rhetoric of the societies and how they worked to push the boundaries of veterandom during the Great War. After the First World War, the societies continued to refer to war horses as veterans, publishing articles and visual media to promote the idea of war animals as deserving veterans as well as focused on erecting war animal memorials during the period. During the interwar period, the humane treatment of ex-war horses became a priority, with the focus on war horses both abroad and at home, prompted by the work of Dorothy Brooke in Egypt in the 1930s. The animal welfare organizations shamed British society into helping the "forgotten soldiers" through the idea that the abuse of these "British" animals by the locals was a slight to British pride and prestige. By the 1930s, two new groups were involved with the cause of humane treatment for war animals, the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals

(PDSA) and the Old War Horse Fund (later renamed The Brooke). The chapter closes with a brief discussion of the work of the major animal welfare organizations during the Second World War, particularly their fundraising activities, air raid education, and morale programs centered on war animals.

My final chapter, "Supplantation, Bonding, and Veteranization: an Epilogue," ties together my research and reiterates the main points and themes of my thesis. The dissertation then will close with a discussion of three examples of contemporary veteranization efforts in Britain, illustrating the continuing process and importance of social media on the expansion of the term "veteran." The examples include the Animals in War Memorial in Hyde Park (completed in 2004), the art installation entitled "Collateral," and the creation of the purple poppy for Remembrance Day. These examples, as well as numerous others, illustrate the need to re-examine the definition of the term "veteran" and the role that non-human veterans play in changing societal discourse.

CHAPTER II

THE GRADUAL TECHNOLOGICAL SUPPLANTATION OF WAR HORSES, 1850-1950

The eclipse of the war horse took a mere hundred years, from 1850 to 1950, and during that relatively short span of time, the war horse went from a wartime necessity to a wartime oddity. During the Victorian Era and the early twentieth century, technology quickly replaced the horse's wartime responsibilities, beginning with the railroad and ending with the motorized vehicles of World War I and World War II. Mechanization removed the need for horses in the areas of transportation, communication, and combat quickly as the decades passed. By the end of the Second World War, the horse was no longer one of the most valuable asset of an army. From the Crimean War to the end of the Second World War, technology methodically edged the horse out of its traditional roles in warfare and the home front. No longer needed in society, it became more of a leisure of times gone by.

In the years that followed World War I, machines came to dominate both the battle front and the home front. While World War I has been commonly characterized as the first modern war because of the use of numerous modern weapons like airplanes, machine guns, and tanks, WWI was actually a war dominated by horse power. Trench warfare and the destruction of land it created meant that the war horse would remain an integral part of the Allied war effort.

Because of its vitalness at the front, the Allied forces devoted a great deal of resources to the maintaining of their horse population on the Western Front. Despite supplantation, many delays arose within both the British military and British society that dramatically altered the relationship between man and horse in the first half of the twenty century. These delays included issues in manufacturing, environmental issues, and the maintenance of traditional mentalities regarding warfare in the British military after the Great War and led to conflicting perceptions on the use of horses in war, particularly between the supporters of horse power and their opponents. Improvements in the technology of automobiles, tanks, and tractors pushed horse power to the background. The new, more reliable machines and manufacturing processes after the First World War came to replace horses in war transportation. By the end of World War II, the only remaining military role for the horse was in parades, with the exception of the Eastern Front and the jungles of South East Asia.[69]

While supplantation encroached on the uses of the British war horse, shortages in resources and manpower, the newness of the technologies, environmental issues on the battlefield, and the traditional mentality of many British military leaders, meant that the pace of technological supplantation did not catch up to military, or even societal, expectations until the interwar period. Because of these various delays, the British military continued to use war horses in overwhelming numbers into the 1950s. The horse's mobility, versatility, and availability were still highly prized by the military leaders of Europe compared to the modern machines, which remained scarce.

Technological Advances in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The technologies that had the greatest influence on the supplantation process were the railroad, the machine gun/firepower, the automobile, the airplane, the tractor, and the tank. While

[69] Arthur Vernon, *History and Romance of the Horse* (Boston: Waverly House, 1939), 368.

the First Industrial Revolution began during the latter half of the eighteenth century, Britain, and the West by extension, did not fully begin to experience the potential of mechanization until the advent of railroad transportation in the 1820s and 1830s. By 1850, Great Britain possessed 7,000 miles of track.[70] Yet, it was during the Crimean War that railroads were first used for military purposes. Both sides of the conflict attempted to employ railroad technology to gain the advantage, yet the only railroad built in Russia at the time was between Moscow and St. Petersburg. Because of this, the Russian army needed months to transport troops and supplies to the front by horse, thus, slowing their war efforts and placing the Russian army at a severe disadvantage to the British and the French. In contrast, the Western allies built a decent system of railways throughout the Crimean fronts and effectively paired their traditional horse population with the new mechanized technology to reach the front more quickly than the Russians.[71] After the Crimean War, the railroad systems of the West increased 200 percent from the 1860s to World War I. Thus, the railroad was the greatest contribution to the pace of warfare in the nineteenth century.[72] The use of railroads during the nineteenth century also taught the army important lessons in basic logistics and organization that helped shape the British military before the Great War, including the standardization of time.[73] Daniel Pick argues that the railway transformed the experience of space in societies with new mobility, changes in time, and changes in communications.[74] Pick asserts that the railroads organized time by standardizing and nationalizing time which, in turn, lead to the standardization and organization of time in factories throughout the West.[75]

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[70] Robert Edgerton, *Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 7.
[71] Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 64.
[72] Martin Van Crevald, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 111-2.
[73] Christian Wolmar, *Engines of War: How Wars Were Won & Lost on the Railways* (London: Atlantic Books, 2010), 27-9.
[74] Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 167.
[75] Ibid., 168-9.

Yet, despite the increase in railroad usage in the West, horses remained an integral part of many countries' transportation networks. According to Thompson, railroads in Britain actually increased the demand for horse labor as horses were required to move goods from the railroad station into and around towns.[76] As horses were not only used in the construction and maintenance of railway lines, but were also used in the distribution of goods from the stations to the cities and towns.[77] Long distance hauling by horses had been reduced and even eliminated by railways in Britain by 1914.[78] In World War I alone, the British military laid over 6,800 miles of railroad track for the war effort.[79] However, horses were still required to transport goods, food stuffs, and soldiers from the railroad head to either the towns or the battle front.[80] Horses continued to fill this need until the interwar period when manufacturing technology produced more reliable and cheaper transportation options from the railroad heads.[81]

The First Industrial Revolution did not cause the supplantation of horses in society; it was the progress of the Second Industrial Revolution that saw the rise in support for removal and, yet, even with all of the major technological changes that were to take place from the 1870s to the 1920s, the trend of animal-machine pairing continued. Clay McShane sees a recurrent theme of society "retrofitting" mechanized technology with equine technology until after 1945.[82] The Second Industrial Revolution did create a "speed up" in the obsolescence process, mainly due to new transportation technologies and new war weapons, but the total supplantation of horses and

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[76] F.M.L. Thompson, "Nineteenth-Century Horse Sense," *The Economic History Review* 29 (Feb., 1976): 64.
[77] Ibid., 66.
[78] Margaret Derry,. *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 46-7.
[79] War Office. *Statistics of Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War, 1914-1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), 740.
[80] Margaret Derry,. *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 46-7.
[81] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 46-7.
[82] Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 166.

war horses did not occur until the Cold War. As early as 1890, newspapers were even heralding the "passing of the horse," though, in reality, the situation was far from that.[83]

According to Michael Adas, since the Second Industrial Revolution, Western armies experienced an advance in the methods of warfare and the creation of massive, industrialized armies that numbered in the millions. Some of the innovations in industry included that development of factory production, the assembly line, interchangeable parts, material standardization, the mechanization and standardization of logistical and communication lines, better firearms, better artillery, smokeless powder, the development of better food preservation, mass production of uniforms, development in the manufacturing of steel and concrete, and the ability for fast, accurate mass communications to coordinate preparations, tactics, and strategies.[84] By 1890, urban and industrially-owned horses outnumbered agricultural equines in Britain. Margaret Derry believes that the world's horse population did not experience decline until after 1918; this is most likely directly and indirectly due to the pairing of horses and technology in society and the military. It is estimated that the increase in the equine population during the Industrial Revolutions was the "fifth and largest explosion" in world history, with the trend reaching its peak between 1910 and 1920 at 110 million horses. Derry estimates that at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in 1720, the population stood at 27 million.[85] With the Second Industrial Revolution underway in Britain, an increasing number of horses were "thrown on the market" as the cities experimented with electricity and gasoline; however, the horse did not experience supplantation, merely changes in usage, though, it is important to note the increase in "worn-out" horse traffic from Britain to the Continent during this period due to the replacement of animals with technology.[86] McShane argues that one of the main reasons that horses continued

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[83] Ibid., 174.
[84] Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 367.
[85] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 46-47.
[86] Marquess of Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry, 1816 to 1919. Vol. 4: 1899 to 1913* (London: Leo Cooper, 1986), 281.

to be used in British society was that a horse did not require a large amount of capital for start up and maintenance, compared to mechanized technology prior to the interwar period.[87] However, according to Derry, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, farmers began to stop breeding horses in large numbers and sold many of their existing animals to urban cities. The decline in horse breeding in Britain as led to an increase in foreign importations to keep up with the demands for equines and equine technology.[88]

Naturally, the development of modern firearms, including handguns, rifles, and machine guns, reduced the utility of war horses. Firearms began to improve over their Napoleonic predecessors in the 1850s with the repeater rifle and hand gun.[89] Previously the Napoleonic muskets were only accurate to 300 feet while the newer breech-loading rifles of the 1860s and 1870s were accurate to 1,000 to 3,000 feet.[90] The newer breech-loading rifles also allowed soldiers to reload at a faster rate. The higher accuracy rate and the quicker loading time made soldiers and cavalry units more vulnerable during charges as both men and horses had to cover the same distances as before but now under heavier and more accurate fire. The other improvement in firearms was the invention of the machine gun. The first machine gun was the Belgian *mitrailleuse*, which was invented in 1851.[91] In 1885, Hiram Maxim created a more compact version of the machine gun cooled by water, resolving one of the main flaws of the previous models as both the Gatling gun and the *mitrailleuse* overheated easily. The Maxim also was the first fully automatic machine gun. The Maxim could pour out bullets at the rate of 500 rounds a minute.[92] In 1913, Colonel Lewis improved on the existing Maxim gun, making it air cooled. The removal of the bulky water cooling system meant that the new Lewis machine gun

[87] McShane, *The Horse in the City*, 166.
[88] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 104.
[89] Kenneth Macksey, *Technology in War: The Impact of Science on Weapon Development and Modern Battle* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1986), 31.
[90] Michael Howard, *Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France 1870-1871* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), 157.
[91] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 31.
[92] Ibid., 40-1.

was much lighter and easier to handle.[93] Machine guns could create a barrage of bullets from a minimum of 2,000 yards behind the lines, which created an advantage over rifles, pistols, and the cavalry.[94]

For military historians, the most important change caused by the machine gun was the conversion of the cavalry to mounted infantrymen beginning in the late nineteenth century. [95] Machine guns increased the likelihood of soldier and horse casualties due to the onslaught of machine gun fire, especially during the Great War.[96] The machine gun was the invention that forced the European Armies, particularly the British, to refocus their technological efforts on mechanization, while still employing war horses to fill the gaps left behind as officials experimented with motorized technology during World War I.[97]

The automobile caused the decline of the war horse on the home front and the battlefield. The first piston suitable for an internal combustion engine with gasoline was invented in 1862, while the first commercially successful engine was developed by Daimler in 1883. Daimler first debuted an engine-powered bicycle that same year, then an automobile with the help of Karl Benz in 1885, and finally a boat by 1887. Steam-powered and electric automobiles were also in the works at the time, but gasoline won out.[98] Daimler's first car's maximum speed was approximately five miles per hour, compared to speeds of twenty miles per hour by 1900.

According to Guy Hartcup, one of the first steps to adapting motorized vehicles for war at the turn of the twentieth century was to experiment with armor plating and late with tracked

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[93] Aaron Norman, *The Great Air War* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 24.
[94] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 85-6.
[95] The difference between cavalrymen and mounted infantrymen is that the cavalry employs horses for a wide variety of tasks while mounted infantry only uses horses for transportation.; Anglesey, *British Cavalry*, 4: 402-3.
[96] Bonie, Lieutenant-Colonel, et al, *Cavalry Studies from Two Great Wars* (Kansas City, MO: Kimberly Pub., 1896), 61.
[97] Sarah Rittgers, "From Galloping Hooves to Rumbling Engines: Organizational Responses to Technology in the U.S. Horse Cavalry" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 2003), 161.
[98] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 47.

systems.[99] The first armored car appeared between 1899 and 1902. These cars were armed with machine guns and a primitive form of body armor. The British army created the Motor Volunteer Corps in 1903, which attempted to utilize the automobile for military purposes.[100] However, the European armies did not seem to be interested in the armored car until the First World War.[101]

Prior to Henry Ford's invention of the moving assembly line in 1908, automobiles were expensive and scarce. Many people viewed the car as a fad for the rich rather than the replacement for the horse.[102] However, the moving assembly line decreased the cost of production and increased the availability of the car to the public and to the military. In 1900, it is estimated that 10,000 automobiles were owned in Britain. By 1914, the country possessed 390,000, an increase of 271 percent, that does not include lorries, buses, and taxis which experienced a similar increase.[103] Yet, Britain remained mostly a horse-drawn society with approximately 1,545,000 horses on the eve of the First World War.[104]

With the conversion from horse to car in British society, roads in many cases had to be updated, as cobblestone avenues were "well-suited" for hooves but "created serious problems of vibration and maintenance for both electric and gasoline [vehicles]." Thus, the conversion from horse was slow going because not only did the technology have to change, but the infrastructure of the city and country had to change at great financial cost over time.[105] Many car manufacturers, Henry Ford included, promoted the idea that automobiles and other motorized vehicles were "not in conflict with their lifestyle or with the role played by their light horse." Many manufacturers told the public that "cars don't replace horses, but work with them." This

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[99] Guy Hartcup, *The War of Invention: Scientific Developments, 1914-18* (New York: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1988), 81.
[100] Anglesey, *British Cavalry*, 4: 443.
[101] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 48.
[102] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 41.
[103] Simon Butler, *The War Horses: The Tragic Fate of a Million Horses in the First World War* (Somerset, UK: Halsgrove, 2011), 23; B.R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 557.
[104] Ibid., 202.
[105] McShane, *The Horse in the City*, 174.

strategy was very successful in encouraging new customers.[106] By the end of the Great War, Britain possessed 650,000 motorized vehicles, 2,274,000 in 1930, and 3,149,000 on the eve of the Second World War.[107]

The War Office ran pre-war competitions and subsidy programs for the automotive industry in an attempt to both increase the motor pool in the event of war and improve it.[108] As with the military breeding schemes of the period, the government in 1911 created subsidy schemes for both public and private manufacturers that would pay them to use and produce mechanical vehicles suitable for military purposes. The government also created an impressment program for mechanized vehicles prior to World War I.[109]

The first massive deployment of the automobile was in September 1914 when General Joseph Gallieni ordered 1,200 taxi drivers to rush 6,000 soldiers to the Battle of the Marne. With the success of the automobile at the Marne, military leaders hoped to replace the horse's transportation responsibilities, especially on the Western Front. At the beginning of the war, the British army had only eighty motor vehicles.[110] In 1914, the government restricted vehicle manufacturers to producing only one or two car models a year, with most of those annual productions going for the war effort.[111] British leaders wanted to use the new civilian technologies such as automobiles and trucks for mundane daily work such as supply transportation in the hopes of reducing the overall cost of war efforts, based on the previously calculated expenditures of the Anglo-Boer War. The military also worried that the dying of animals on the battlefield, particularly horses, would adversely affect soldiers' morale on the

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[106] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 45-6.
[107] Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics*, 557-8).
[108] John Glanfield, *The Devil's Chariots: The Birth and Secret Battles of the First Tanks* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 16.
[109] John Sutton and John Walker, *From Horse to Helicopter: Transporting the British army in War and Peace, 1648-1989* (London: Leo Cooper, 1990), 77-78.
[110] Jay Winter, *The Experience of World War I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 95.
[111] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort*, 852.

battlefield.[112] By the Armistice, the army possessed 56,657 lorries, 23,133 automobiles, and 7,045 ambulances.[113]

While the railroads and automobiles made inroads on supplanting the war horse's role in transportation, airpower also provided new ways to replace the war horse in reconnaissance, and, later, in supply transportation. The two significant developments in airpower were the motorized airplane in 1903 by the Wright Brothers and the airship in 1904 by Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin.[114] These aerial developments took over the role of reconnaissance from the traditional cavalry beginning in 1915. In 1914, British planes had a maximum speed of only eight miles per hour, but by 1918, planes could travel 140 miles per hour.[115] As air technology improved, airplanes were able to carry heavier and heavier cargoes over further distances, so that by the interwar years, the airplane removed yet another aspect of the horse's role in warfare.

In Britain, the agricultural tractor was first developed by David Roberts, and built by R Hornsby and Sons.[116] Interest in tractors from military purposes began in 1902, though it was not demonstrated for the military until 1906 and received a favorable response.[117] The MTC purchased R. Hornby and Sons' tractors for £2,500 and began military trials in July 1907.[118] Hornby sold its foreign patents in 1911-1912 to the Holt Manufacturing Company in California after the British military decided that the tractor would have limited use if it could not be easily paired with other military transport, namely horses.[119] The War Office also felt that the tractors would have limited use, as those produced in Britain did not use interchangeable parts.[120] Holt wrote to the British army in 1913, attempting to drum up military interest in his tractors; however,

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[112] Spender Tucker, et al., *The European Powers in the First World War: An Encyclopedia* (London: Routledge, 1999), 52.
[113] A.O. Temple Clarke, Captain, *Transport and Sport in the Great War Period* (London: Quality Press, 1938), 13.
[114] Trevor Williams, *A History of Technology: The Twentieth Century, Volume 7: c. 1900 to c. 1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 797-8.
[115] George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 201.
[116] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 48.
[117] Glanfield, *The Devil's Chariots*, 8-9.
[118] Ibid., 9.
[119] Ibid., 13-4.
[120] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort*, 852.

it was not until May 1915 that interested was renewed after tractor trials in Illinois.[121] Commercial tractors, the mothers of British tanks, were thus restricted to industry after 1907 until their design changed as part of the development of tanks in 1915.

With the British government impressing over 467,000 animals from Britain alone, farmers and urban centers experienced a heightened need for other sources of transportation and labor. In the cities, the horse shortage was relieved by the use of automobiles, omnibuses, vans, and lorries. On farms, the wealthier farmers purchased tractors while the poorer farmers used their breeding mares for field work.[122] Prior to the war, the "caterpillar" tracked tractor was in its infancy. It has been estimated that only about 1,000 tractors were in use in the British Isles before 1914. At the end of 1917, the Food Production Department calculated there to be around 3,500 privately owned tractors in Great Britain. The first government tractor census was in 1925; the census found that 16,681 tractors were employed in the region.[123] Once tractors became a cheaper investment in the 1920s and 1930s, their advantages outweighed the horse's advantages by freeing up fodder lands and allowing for larger plow-ups.

The tank however played a major role in the supplantation of war horses. In 1915, Major Ernest Swinton developed the first tank prototype for the Landships Committee under the supervision of the Navy and Winston Churchill.[124] The "Juggernaut Car of Battle," as one filmmaker called the tank, was first tested in February 1916 by the British, and first deployed in the Battle of the Somme.[125] At least a third of the tanks broke down instantly-- not the most successful evidence of the tank's future potential.[126] Despite this, the British Tank Corps were organized on 28 June 1917, but prior to that it was known as the Heavy Section /Branch Machine

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[121] Glanfield, *The Devil's Chariots*, 14.
[122] P.E. Dewey, *British Agriculture in the First World War* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 61.
[123] Ibid., 60-1.
[124] Roman Jarymowycz, *Cavalry from Hoof to Track* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2008), 144-5.
[125] Geoffrey Malins, Lieutenant, *How I Filmed the War: A Record of the Extraordinary Experiences of the Man Who Filmed the Great Somme Battles Etc.* (London: Imperial War Museum, 1920), 230; Patrick Wright, *Tank: The Progress of a Monstrous War Machine* (New York: Viking, 2002), 38.
[126] David Fletcher *The British Tanks, 1915-1919* (Ramsbury, Marlnorough, Wiltshire, UK: Crowood Press, 2001), 58.

Gun Corps. It seems that it was similar to a cavalry division in many ways; an autonomous section with its own specialized type of technology.[127] The first major tank battle, i.e. where belligerent tanks faced off on the battlefield, was at Cambrai in 1917, and while this gained them many supporters, it by no means signaled the end of horse employment; if anything, it only signified a new pairing for flesh and machine.[128] The army felt that the key solution to breaking the stalemate was an abundance of tanks. However, this never occurred during the war.[129]

Of the 121,702 vehicles employed by the British army, Britain manufactured 2,818 tanks between 1916 and 1918. By the end of 1918, the British army had produced 25,031 artillery guns, 239,840 machine guns, 2,828 tanks, and 54,314 airplanes. We can compare this to the 91 artillery guns Britain produced in 1914, the 274 machine guns Britain produced that same year; 150 tanks in 1914, and 1,680 in 1915.[130] One can see the marked increase of mechanization during the war, however, this emphasis on machines did not allow for the complete replacement the war horse; the emphasis merely limited the role of the war horse in the coming decades.

Delayed Obsolescence and the Great War

According to George Robb, World War I "hastened the adoption in Britain of principles of scientific management," including the assembly line and the development of interchangeable parts by 1915.[131] It seems that the use of mechanized technology begat the need for more mechanized technology. For example, trucks were needed to move supplies from railheads and tanks required both rails and trucks to ship them to the fronts. Thus, the use of one mechanized vehicle necessitated the use of a pairing with more mechanical vehicles in the minds of many,

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[127] David J. Childs, *A Peripheral Weapon? The Production and Employment of British Tanks in the First World War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 123.
[128] Hartcup, *The War of Invention*, 89.
[129] Jarymowycz, *Cavalry from Hoof to Track*, 145.
[130] John Ellis and Michael Cox, *The World War I Databook: the Essential Facts and Figures for All the Combatants* (London: Aurum Press, 2001), 287.
[131] Robb, *British Culture*, 191.

both in the military and on the home front.[132] However, production issues and shortages caused the continued pairing of machines with war animals. Machines were viewed as supplemental to the use of horses, not vice versa.

Many in the army saw the potential for complete mechanization, but realized that during World War I "aeroplanes and tanks are only accessories to the man on a horse" due to numerous categories of delays in mechanization during the Great War.[133] Captain Sidney Galtrey noted in his article on the use of the horse in the Great War that:

> I have heard folk at home, who have never seen these things and therefore do not know, express astonishment that horses and mules are still a vital force in the prosecution of modem warfare. The motor lorry, the steam wagon and the caterpillar tractors, they say, must have supplanted the horse. To some extent they certainly have done so, and it is a reminder that but for them no nation or assembly of nations could have carried on war on the gigantic scale it now is had they all the horses in the world at their command. We have to remember that this is a unique war of enormous, unparalleled magnitude, and that horses are being employed on a scale which could never have been dreamed of. They must still continue to do what motors cannot do until the time comes when war will be made wholly in the sky and under the earth.[134]

The horse was essential to everything from transportation, artillery, front maintenance, and the mounted forces. With a few exceptions, such as the taxis of the Marne and tanks after the Somme, mechanized machines were relegated to labor far from the front.

Horses transported supplies from the assembly points to the front lines, where few machines could travel due to poor road conditions. Motor trucks transported the supplies from the railroads to the assembly, since the railroads rarely traveled close enough to the front. The assembly points usually lay approximately five miles from the front, at which time horse-drawn wagons and pack animals carried the supplies the rest of the way. The heavily cratered terrain

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[132] Childs, *A Peripheral Weapon*, 108.
[133] Butler, *The War Horses*, 109.
[134] Sidney Galtrey, Captain, *The Horse and the War* (London: "Country Life," 1918), 84 and 86.

close to the front had a tendency to become miles of mud after rain, making them impassable for everything but horses.[135]

With trucks and tractors in short supply on the front, horses continued their traditional role as artillery transportation. An average six to eight animals, whether draft horses or mules, were used to move a single artillery piece.[136] Toward the end of the war, military leaders began experimenting with self-propelled artillery guns, as well as other mechanical forms of transportation. This slowly began to replace the horse in artillery mobility. However, the artillery did not become fully mechanized in the British or American armies until the end of the interwar period.[137]

Horses were also employed as pack animals; this classification included everything from maintaining communication lines to repairing trenches to maintaining roadways. The Western Front was originally farmland and the Allied forces had to construct miles of new roadways to reach the front. Approximately 4,500 miles of roads were under the jurisdiction of the Allies on the Western Front alone.[138] Horses transported the stone materials from the quarry trucks to the construction area. By the armistice, more than 3,500,000 tons of road material had been transported by both motor vehicles and horses to maintain the roads on the Western Front.[139] Horses were needed to help repair poorly constructed trenches as well. They transported the timber needed for the duckboards at the bottom of soggy trenches as well as to carry sandbags to reinforce the crumbling walls.[140] In the area of communication, horses laid the telephone and telegraph wires from the front to the Allied Headquarters.[141] The average weekly issue of communication cables was 3,300 miles with as much as 6,500 miles being built in any given

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[135] John Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," *Past and Present* 139 (May, 1993): 190.
[136] Galtrey, *The Horse and the War*, 14-5.
[137] H.G. Bishop, *Field Artillery: The King of Battles* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935), 14.
[138] John E. Lewis, ed., *The Mammoth Book of Eyewitness World War I* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003), 468-469.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Neil Heyman, *Daily Life during World War I* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 48-9.
[141] Bishop, *King of Battles*, 59-60.

week during the war.[142] Horses were also used in radio detachments on battle lines as pack animals to carry batteries, charging equipment, and wire.[143]

The final use of the horse was for the cavalry. Trench warfare, which characterized the Western Front in World War I, did not allow for the traditional use of cavalry as shock troops. This is in strict contrast to the fighting on the Eastern, Middle Eastern, and Egyptian fronts, where mounted forces played a key role in several regions. Most cavalry units were kept in reserve, as military leaders hoped to use them should a breakthrough in the lines occur; however, when few gaps appeared, the cavalry was reduced to mounted forces, whose steed was only used to move the solder from location to location quickly.[144] Cavalry units were also used for reconnaissance missions when airplanes could not due to weather issues.[145] The cavalry charge met its end due to the "introduction of rapid firing weapons, barbed wire, and the subterranean nature of extensive trench warfare," but war horses as such still had a role to play.[146]

Of course, the most prestigious function of the war horse was as a cavalry mount. This type of war horse was a "symbol of power" and continues to be one despite mechanization.[147] Stephen Badsey asserts that the British entered WWI anticipating a colonial war, so their doctrines and strategies fallowed that attitude. However, the type of warfare encountered by the British favored the use of the infantry, the artillery, and technology. Therefore, while not obsolete, the cavalry was pushed into the background on many fronts until 1918, except in the Middle East.[148] Historians continue to debate the viability of the cavalry in 1914-18. New research illustrates that "the cavalry was not an obsolete arm of the British army" and that it was

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[142] Bishop, *King of Battles*, 467.
[143] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 64.
[144] Richard Holmes, *The Western Front* (New York: TV Books, 2000), 59.
[145] Gary Sheffield, *War on the Western Front: In the Trenches of World War I* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2008), 174.
[146] George F. Hofmann, *Through Mobility We Conquer: The Mechanization of U.S. Cavalry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2006), 64-5.
[147] Butler, *The War Horses*, 38.
[148] Stephen Badsey, *Doctrine and Reform in the British Cavalry, 1880-1918* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 242.

"the only truly mobile arm" until the interwar period.[149] According to John Singleton, it was not until the fall of 1918 that the cavalry regained its mobility to great effect. However, the war ended before the cavalry could truly prove its staying power in the eyes of many military and civilian leaders.[150] Some historians have concluded that "the cavalry, to the contrary, was really the only arm with the sense and means of mobility to achieve and sustain a breakthrough should it have occurred. The cavalry's lack of success, therefore, was not to do with the capabilities and limitations of the arm itself, but rather with the inability of commanders, staffs, and the other arms of the British army to rapidly adapt and take advantage of the fleeting opportunities for mobile warfare."[151]

By the beginning of the First World War, the military leaders were already personally attached to horses. It was a commonly held opinion that the majority of them were "blind to change" because of this fact.[152] In November 1915, the members of the government debated the war horse expenditures, and established a committee to evaluate the use of horses on the battlefield and to reduce horse-related costs. This was initiated by the Prime Minister H.H. Asquith, who repeatedly stated that equines were playing "an unexpectedly small part in this war." Though, Asquith was greatly mistaken, given the necessity of horses in transportation, he, in reality, focused much of his attention on the cavalry.[153] Critics of the cavalry and Field Marshall Douglas Haig included Lord George Curzon, chairman of the Shipping Control Board, and Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty.[154] The British War Committee criticized Haig after 1915 for maintaining large horse populations of the Western Front for the cavalry,

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[149] Richard L. Bowes, Major, "Waiting for the 'G': A Re-Evaluation of the Role of the British Cavalry on the Western Front, 1915-1918," Ph.D. diss., Royal Military College of Canada, 2000), i-ii.
[150] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses," 192.
[151] Bowes, "Waiting for the 'G'", i-ii.
[152] Stephen Badsey, *Doctrine and Reform in the British Cavalry, 1880-1918* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 306.
[153] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," 192.
[154] Badsey, *Doctrine and Reform,* 277 and 304-305.

instead of reallocation them elsewhere or removing the surplus.[155] Asquith stated that "the horses out in France were of no use now. They were only there for prospective use when we had broken through. We were maintaining in France an enormous number of horses which were temporarily useless."[156] Despite the cavalry making up a fraction of war expenditures, the government saw it as a waste of time, energy, space, and finances, saying those resources could be put to better use elsewhere on the front.[157] For Haig, the views of the War Committee were not only ignorant but also dense, as he believed cavalry was still required in operations to press against the battle lines, opening up the possibility of offensive action.[158] Haig believed that the most important asset an army possessed was mobility, by animal or by machine, and he knew that equines were still the major driving force of military transportation. Haig wrote that "the power of an army as a striking weapon, depends on its mobility to move [soldiers], and mobility is largely dependent on the suitability of animals for army work."[159] Haig also firmly believed that "Aeroplanes and tanks are only accessories to the man on a horse."[160]

Mechanization during the Great War was delayed by environmental issues, road maintenance issues, the general cost of mechanized technology in the early days of the assembly line, production shortages and machine breakdowns, educational and training delays, and traditional attitudes toward the pairing of horses with new technology. According to Robb, one of the reasons for the lack of mechanization during World War I was that military leaders preferred to relegate new mechanized technology to "peripheral roles." Military leaders were reluctant to listen to scientists and engineers and chose to fall back on more traditional tactics and strategies in hopes of victory.[161] Many times, new technologies are incorporated slowly into the

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[155] Martin Gilbert, *The Somme: Heroism and Horror in the First World War* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006), 27.
[156] Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *The Somme* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 13.
[157] Badsey, *Doctrine and Reform*, 268-269.
[158] Gilbert, *The Somme*, 27.
[159] Allen, *Animals at War*, 2 and 4.
[160] Butler, *The War Horses*, 109.
[161] Robb, *British Culture*, 188-9.

established paradigm, leading to a continued reliance on traditional weapons and assets while the addition and/or conversion is completed.[162] Military leaders simply were very hesitant to rely heavily on weapons that had not been repeatedly battle-tested.

The nature of the tracks and tires and the weight of the machines only contributed to the serious damage and congestion of the road network."[163] Road maintenance was a perpetual issue for the army. Upkeep of the major transportation veins was meager at best and necessitated the continued viability of horse power, particularly on the Western Front.[164] Christian Wolmer contended that both the roads in Europe and the available motorized vehicles were not up to the task of moving supplies from the railroads to the trenches on a regular basis, that it was the horse that continued to fill the logistical gap.[165] To add to this daily congestion, World War I tanks "trailed behind them a long umbilical connection from the nearest standard gauge railhead" for their supplies."[166] The destruction of the landscape and roads meant that horses remained vital to the major supply arteries on the fronts.

Most motorized vehicles in 1914 were fragile and expensive, and their functions were relatively unknown to the average soldier.[167] Horses took precedence over motorized vehicles because they were available in greater numbers, were cheaper, and were more familiar to soldiers. Kenneth Mackey believes that the pace of mechanization, both home and in the military, was "dictated by the restrictions of peace time accounting and the urgencies of crisis and war."[168] Due to the terrain, scarcity of parts and mechanics, and the relatively expensive nature of automobiles, many European armies placed limitations on the daily distances that vehicles were allowed to

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[162] Rittgers, "From Galloping Hooves to Rumbling Engines", 4-5.
[163] Childs, *A Peripheral Weapon*, 115, 117.
[164] A.M. Henniker, Colonel, *Transportation on the Western Front, 1914-1918: History of the Great War based on Official Documents by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence* (London: HMSO, 1937), 149.
[165] Wolmar, *Engines of War*, 159.
[166] Childs, *A Peripheral Weapon*, 115.
[167] Wolmar, *Engines of War*, 160-1.
[168] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 60-1.

travel, so, with fodder and rest, the horse easily outpaced automobiles in daily workload.[169] Crews seemed to be under the impression that the life spans of all mechanized vehicles, particularly tanks, were unlimited; however, the designers knew that this was not the case, noting that in the case of the tank, its designated a lifespan was fifty miles.[170] This meant that military leaders were more inclined to employ modes of transportation that were cheap and easily accessible to the military, namely the war horse, as a means of avoiding supply slowdowns and to keep expenditures in check.

Production of many mechanized vehicles during the war was limited. To meet the demands of the British army, new factories were built while older ones were expanded. Britain also had to import most of the raw materials needed to manufacture the vehicles. The importation of the raw materials created massive delays in production due to the increased shipping time across the Atlantic Ocean. The average shipping time prior to the war was twenty days; however, the submarine warfare and lack of convey ships created delays of more than two months. The shortage of factory workers in Great Britain also added to production delays. Though women were employed to cover the vacant positions, production time was not significantly decreased.[171] Because of the scarcity of motorized vehicles and the difficult terrain, generals at the front were forced to continue using horses for transportation with little progress in breaking the stalemate.

In many ways, British society was not prepared for the output required by modern, industrialized warfare. World War I illustrated that "the output of the State's own … factories was inadequate" and that the private sector would need to fill in the gaps; however, due to the enormity of the war demands, even the private sector failed to cover supplies leading to first foreign imports and then shortages. Shortages slowed down mechanization until the interwar period.[172] The construction of mechanized vehicles, especially tanks, was marred by resource and

[169] Wolmar, *Engines of War*, 159.
[170] Childs, *A Peripheral Weapon*, 96.
[171] George H. Cassar, *The Tragedy of Sir John* French (Newark: University of Delaware, 1985), 229.
[172] Ian F.W. Beckett, *The Great War, 1914-1918* (2nd ed. New York: Pearson, 2007), 60.

labor shortages.[173] Robb argues that many of the shortages were due to the need to modernize many British factories with electricity and gasoline.[174] Despite sixty-one percent of the British workforce being engaged in labor directly related to the war effort, industrial shortages occurred across the board.[175] It became a routine occurrence for salvage crews to cannibalize machines on the battlefield to obtain spare parts.[176] David Childs writes that "the shortage of specialist tools and equipment (or the fact that they had yet to be devised) with which to carry out salvage or repair operations handicapped the efficiency of the units, but they were often able to overcome these deficiencies by *ad hoc* means."[177] This, however, only added to delays in assimilating mechanized technologies into the military for widespread employment.

Motor technology was new for many soldiers and required a great deal of training. Prior to the war, many soldiers had not gained mechanical experience on a daily basis.[178] In the case of the tank, instructors "knew little more than their pupils."[179] In the beginning, tank crews were expected to have knowledge of mechanics or engineering, something that predisposed the soldiers to be from the middle classes.[180] However, after 1917, many crews had no more knowledge than the "average motorist," leading to the need for more on the job training.[181] To add to the challenges faced by tank crews, the British military constantly redesigned the tank.[182]

Finally, many military leaders, including Sir John French and Sir Douglas Haig, simply believed that horses were more versatile than motor vehicles because they can "operate in the dark and in bad weather."[183] This attitude, the idea that technology had to be paired with war horses to function effectively, created a delay in the supplantation of war horses during the Great

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[173] Fletcher, *The British Tanks*, 62.
[174] Robb, *British Culture*, 192.
[175] Ibid., 191.
[176] Arthur Cotterell, *Chariot: From Chariot to Tank, the Astounding Rise and Fall of the World's First War Machine* (New York: Overlook Press, 2004), 294-5.
[177] Childs, *A Peripheral Weapon*, 106.
[178] Jeff Kinard, *Artillery: An Illustrated History of Its Impact* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 244.
[179] George Forty and Anne Forty, *Bovington Tanks* (Somerset: Wincanton Press, 2009), 11.
[180] Ibid., 10.
[181] Ibid., 21.
[182] Fletcher, *The British Tanks*, 69.
[183] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses," 202.

War. Horses were viewed as being more reliable than most mechanized technology and even less troublesome. General H.G. Bishop summed up the belief of many military leaders during the First World War best when he wrote:

> Until the gasoline replacement comes up, the motor is riveted in place; but with the horse, a little rest, a little water, a little stubble from the roadside or bark from the trees, a little chafing of palsied muscles, oftentimes just a little petting — and the forward march can be resumed. Another predominating reason is the fact that no motor vehicle has yet been produced which can replace the horse on individual work, such as scouting, wire-laying, line-riding, and messenger service, over rough, heavily wooded, or marshy ground.[184]

British military leaders were by no means Luddites; they simply were pragmatic in their reliance on war horses, as the mechanized technologies that were available at the time were hampered by a variety of issues, leading to problems with their widespread employment.[185]

The Mechanization Debate After World War I

In British society, following the Great War, the supplantation of horses began in urban centers, then spread to the military, and finally to agriculture.[186] According to Barker, "Within two generations or so after 1910 the animal upon which mankind had depended for so long had virtually disappeared from sight in many parts of the world and was relatively little used elsewhere. It had become the victim of internal combustion."[187] Freight horses in London declined from 347,000 in 1924 to 131,000 in 1934 due to the reduced cost and increased convenience of motorized vehicles; however, the numbers illustrate that horses remained a vital

[184] Bishop, *King of Battles*, 67-8.
[185] Jarymowycz, *Cavalry from Hoof to Track*, 131.
[186] T.C. Barker, "The Delayed Decline of the Horse in the Twentieth Century," *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter* (Ed. F.M.L. Thompson. Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983), 111-112.
[187] (Barker, T.C. "The Delayed Decline of the Horse in the Twentieth Century." *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter*. Ed. F.M.L. Thompson. Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983, 101)

filler in British society during the interwar period.[188] In the military, the war horse population declined from over 785,000 equines in 1918 to 39,096 in 1921 and 24,522 in 1939.[189] In agriculture, British farms in 1910 housed some 1,137,000 horses and by 1939, 650,000 were still used. By 1965, that number had dropped to 21,000. The decline of the horse in British society across the board occurred as mechanization dramatically increased in all sectors of British life during the interwar period.[190]

The path to complete mechanization was not smooth; the 1920s and 1930s saw a "two steps forward, one step back" trend as the army heatedly debated the process and even the value of complete mechanization. The army spent much of the interwar period debating the level of mechanization in the armed forces. Moore, though biased, states that

> One War is no criterion of the next – or another. It is nature, or flesh and blood, that forms the primary factor of War; all else are appliances whereby it can be the most successfully waged. Man is the element, the animal is his co-efficient, and armament is his determinator. It is certain that War will never be conducted without animals, both from the essential and economic aspects of it. It is the same now as it was 2500 years ago, and there is little reason to suppose that the future will disclose any material change excepting in armaments, and until, through the latter, War is made altogether impossible. We will therefore continue to discuss our co-efficient – or our business partner in War.[191]

One of the main reasons that mechanization occurred at a slower rate during the interwar period is that the military experienced severe cutbacks and fund shortages that hindered the pace of conversion. This is not to say that it ground to a halt, but the pace crawled compared to the hopes of many in the military and in British society.[192] The Treasury as well as many in the British government after 1918 favored a balanced budget over the maintenance of a large scale, standing army. Because of these financial limitations, the army experienced shortages in both manpower

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[188] Thompson, "Nineteenth-Century Horse Sense", 64.
[189] J. Clabby, Brigadier, *The History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps, 1919-1961* (London: J.A. Allen and Co., 1961), 26.
[190] Barker, "The Delayed Decline of the Horse," 109.
[191] John Moore, Major-General, *Army Veterinary Service in War* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1921), 121.
[192] David French, "Doctrine and Organization in the British army, 1919-1932," *The Historical Journal* 44 (June, 2001): 510.

and training facilities and was unable to purchase large amounts of new equipment of any type, including mechanized weaponry and vehicles.[193] The self-imposed Ten Year Rule, whereby Britain promised not to engage in conflicts for at least ten years after 1919, added to the slowdown in mechanization as it was viewed as a means of war preparations.[194] By 1922, the peacetime expenditures of the army were only five percent of what they were in 1918, and were reduced further in the late 1920s and early 1930s, making a reduction in men, horses, and machines necessary. Mechanization was hit the hardest, impeding rearmament efforts until the late 1930s.[195] In general, it was agreed that until production and cost caught up to demand, the horse would be more cost effective over short distances while the motorized vehicles were more cost effective over long distances.[196] Even by 1931, it was still more cost effective in British society to employ horse power instead of motorized vehicles in urban and agricultural settings due to the number of horses available compared to vehicles, and the cost of maintenance and repair of these vehicles.[197] Supplantation also appeared to slow during the interwar period because the military not only had to replace horses with new technology, but also obsolete vehicles at the same time, leading to financial and economic constraint.[198] During the interwar period, Britain also failed to adopt modern mass-production methods to all of its factories and industries. It was not until 1938 that impending war necessitated mass production, mass management, and mass mechanization across the board. Mechanized technology was also imported from the United States and installed in a variety of British industries both at home and in the military.[199]

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[193] Ibid., 513.
[194] Sutton, *From Horse to Helicopter*, 119.
[195] Larson, *The British army*, 34.
[196] McShane, *The Horse in the City*, 175.
[197] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, February 1931), 28.
[198] Sutton, *From Horse to Helicopter*, 119-120.
[199] Roderick Floud, and Donald McCloskey, ed., *The Economic History of Britain since 1700, Volume 2: 1860-1939* (2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 294.

During the 1920s, military elites believed that despite the advancements of mechanization, militaries would always have to fall back on the pairing of man and horse in war, and that the new war machines of World War I were merely "accessories to the man and the horse."[200] Many military commanders and strategists agreed that motorized technology belonged in the military by the 1930s; however, they still felt doubtful that technology could function solely without the addition of war horses.[201] The argument for the maintaining of war horses focused on their usefulness over difficult terrain, their ability to live off the land, and, to a lesser extent, the belief in the effectiveness of horsed cavalry.[202]

According to Robert Larsen, from 1934 to 1937, military budgets were expanded and the use of mechanized vehicles was further promoted. During this period the army decided to pursue full-scale mechanization.[203] When the automotive technology was "matched with the industrial capability to build hundreds of thousands or motor vehicles relatively cheaply," the war horse experienced obsolescence on a large scale.[204] By 1934, the army feared that the lack of experience with horses in the general population would be a major "kink" in the military's armor in the next war. Therefore, mechanization was looked at with renewed vigor as a means to offset this perceived fear of horses among the general population.[205] McShane notes that by the interwar period, the horse as a flexible labor technology could no longer accommodate the demands of a modern city; the amount of goods needing transportation and the pace at which they needed to be transported meant that the horse had outlived its commercial and military usefulness.[206]

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[200] John Ellis, *Cavalry: The History of Mounted Warfare* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1978), 181-2.
[201] Hofmann, *Through Mobility We Conquer*, 152-153.
[202] J.M. Brereton, *The Horse in War* (New York: Arco Publishing, 1976), 143.
[203] Larson, *The British army*, 171-172)
[204] Louis DiMarco, *War Horse: A History of the Military Horse and Rider* (Yardley: Westholme, 2008), 349.
[205] Larson, *The British army*, 22-23.
[206] McShane, *The Horse in the City*, 179.

Between 1927 and 1934, the British military increased the number of mechanization-related military trials and exercises. Britain was the only Western nation to create an independent armored force to explore the possibilities of full mechanization.[207] In fact, the Experimental Mechanized Force was established in 1927.[208] Along with the tank, the airplane improved technically-- in altitude, speed, distance, and cargo capabilities—across the 1930s and 1940s.[209] During the 1930s, the British military began developing military vehicles that could be used for general purposes with off-road capabilities, similar to the American Jeeps of World War II. These were to help replace trucks and other heavy-duty vehicles and add mobility to the army.[210] The Royal Horse Artillery began mechanizing in the mid-1930s, using tracked vehicles to replace horse teams, a development that met with little resistance, probably because of the increasingly heavy nature of artillery guns and the need for quick mobility.[211]

In March 1939, the British Secretary of State for War questioned the need for full mechanization in the face of Germany's horse strength.[212] During the move toward full mechanization before the Second World War, British commanders estimated that the British army might require as many as 200,000 equines for a war against Germany.[213] It was even assumed that the horse would continue to be needed on the home front and battle front: "Any shortage of metals, fuel oils; lubricants or other essentials of motorization or mechanization will obviously enhance the value and need for horses in our own army or that of our allies." It seemed that little had changed by the 1940s with regards to the debate over the employment of war horses; as one Allied expert wrote in 1943, "thus the future purely military need for horses seems certain."[214]

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[207] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 103.
[208] Larson, *The British army*, 137-138.
[209] Macksey, *Technology in War*, 104.
[210] G. Le Q. Martel, Lieut.-Col., *In the Wake of the Tank: the First Fifteen Years of Mechanization in the British army* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., 1931), 240.
[211] M.C.R. Wallace, Major, *The King's Troop Royal Horse Artillery* (London: Threshold Books, 1984), 24.
[212] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 146-147.
[213] Phil Livingston and Ed Roberts, *War Horse: Mounting the Cavalry with America's Finest Horses* (Albany, TX: Bright Sky Press, 2003), 33.
[214] Fred W. Koester, Lt. Colonel, *The War Horse* (Washington, 1943), 2.

Yet by 1939, only the 5th Cavalry Brigade, stationed in the Middle East, had been "spared the process of mechanization."[215] With the total mechanization of the cavalry in 1940, some 7,200 horses were de-serviced. Given the promise of the government to avoid casting to locals, military leaders chose to redistribute the animals to transport services, particularly for service in Italy and South East Asia.[216] According to John Ellis, the conversion from horse power to gas power was not complete, because the British continued to use equines in Burma, North Africa, and Italy during the war.[217]

In stark contrast, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union remained heavily reliant on horses during the Second World War, due to many of the same delay problems experienced by the British in the Great War. Both countries were bedeviled by resource scarcities and transportation issues, leading to troubles in mechanized vehicle production, transportation, and maintenance.[218] Both countries fell back on horse power to fill in the gaps of their military transportation network. The German army used approximately 3 million horses and mules during the Second World War with more than 1.7 million dying.[219] The Soviet forces used a total of 3.5 million animals during World War II with more than 2 million perishing.[220] Therefore, as R.L. DiNardo writes, the "German army's lifeblood was oats as much as it was oil" during the Second World War.[221] During the course of the war on the Eastern Front, close to 7 million horses were "killed or taken away" from the occupied territories.[222] Ironically, Nazi Germany purchased many of the British war horses and urban horses replaced by mechanization during the 1930s and gathered the rest of its war stock from occupied territories across Western and Eastern Europe. [223]

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[215] Janusz Piekalkiewicz, *The Cavalry of World War II* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980), 244.
[216] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 150.
[217] Ellis, *Cavalry*, 182.
[218] John Keegan, *Second World War* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 399; Charles Winchester, *Hitler's War on Russia* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2007), 130.
[219] Paul Johnson, *Horses of German Army in World War II* (NA: Schiffer Pub LTD., 2006), 6.
[220] Livingston, *War Horse*, 33.
[221] R.L. DiNardo, *Mechanized Juggernaut or Military Anachronism? Horses and the German Army of World War II* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 107.
[222] Ibid., 72.
[223] Ibid., 12 and 30.

After the Second World War, horses continued to be used in regional hostilities. Ann Hyland writes that "the lines are sometimes blurred as in some countries horses fulfill a role between military and police use." Horses also continue to be used sparingly over difficult terrain and in underdeveloped regions.[224] The only period where equines had to be dealt with in large numbers was after VE Day, when the Allies were tasked with the disposal of tens of thousands of surrendered animals from the Wehrmacht and its Allies. Many were demobilized, casted, destroyed, and/or sold off for reconstruction, under the supervision of the RAVC.[225] According to Hyland, the British continued to use horses in the military sparingly in Hong Kong, in the Mau Mau Emergency, in the Falklands War, against the Russians in Afghanistan, and in Bosnia in the 1990s, while other countries, such as the United States, employed horses against the Taliban in the Afghan War.[226] Britain also continues to employ horses for a variety of ceremonial purposes, including for the Household Cavalry.

The decline of the horse in Western warfare was not a single line of obsolescence, but one of many lines, because of the varieties of progress in military science. During the Crimean War, horses were the most important war machine, but, by the First World War the automobile, the tank, and the airplane had begun to supplant the horse on the battlefield, and by the end of the Second World War, the horse had been completely removed from the art of war. The rapid progression of technology from the Crimean War to the Second World War ended the horse's usefulness in the military and British society. With each successive war between 1850 and 1950, armies added new technologies, which removed the horse-drawn artillery, then the cavalry, and finally forced the horse off the battlefield altogether. After the Second World War the war horse remained only a symbol of prestige, gallantry, status, and bygone days. But the war horse did not slink quietly into oblivion; the rise of mechanization allowed for the seeds of veteranization to take hold in British society during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The dramatic

[224] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 200.
[225] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 154-155.
[226] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 200-01; Ellis, *Cavalry*, 184-185.

transformation of British society and military precipitated by science and technology created an increase in sympathy and empathy with war animals, setting the stage for a change in perception regarding the war horse. Many times, the foundations of veteranization were closely linked to changes in military policies due to supplantation and budgets.

CHAPTER III

MILITARY POLICIES, BUDGETS, AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF VETERANIZATION, 1850-1914

According to Sandra Swart, humans and horses have functioned like "coworkers" since domestication, around 6,000 B.C.E., and this relationship has influenced a wide range of human endeavors.[227] From the battlefield to domestic and agrarian life, horses filled every role assigned to them.[228] This partnership, like many human-animal relationships, was one-sided for much of the horse's history. The horse was a beast of burden for centuries. It was not until the eighteenth century, with the numerous technological changes in British society, that the horse underwent a transformation both in utility status and moral status. Military policy changes, which were crafted to reduce wastage in regular military life and in war, became the foundations for elevating their status in the military and set both the British military and British society on a course toward converting war horses from brute resources to veterans.

Military Policies and Budgets from the 1850s to the 1870s

During the long nineteenth century, Britain experienced an equine population

[227] Sandra Swart, *Riding High: Horses, Humans, and History in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010), 205.
[228] Matthew Kust, *Man and Horse in History* (Alexandria, VA: Plutarch Press, 1983), 6-7.

explosion, expanding from 1,287,000 horses in 1811 to over 3 million by 1911. This may seem counter-intuitive given that this explosion coincided with the Second Industrial Revolution. However, industrialized society did not replace horses prior to 1914; Society only found horses more specialized tasks.[229] Keith Chivers asserts that the almost threefold increase in the British horse population was due to the increased number of transportation modes requiring the pairing of horse-power with industrial-power. These new modes increased as urban populations and populations in general increased after 1750 and included the need for horses working with railroads, omnibuses, coaches, cabs, trams, carriages, and wagons.[230] By the turn of the century, urban equines outnumbered agricultural ones. This paralleled the increase of equines in the military for logistical reasons, and the increase in the war horse population focused the military's need to limit to war horse wastage.[231] The increased wastage rates over the nineteenth century, culminating in the debacle in South Africa, led to numerous policy changes, promoting human-animal bonding. Emphasis on bonding laid the foundations for veteranization in the years leading up to the Great War.

Traditionally, military leaders and soldiers alike viewed war horses as just another resource for the war effort, akin to a coat, firearm, or a mess kit. General theories of military offensive prior to the Great War, particularly during the Crimean War, assumed that the cavalryman should use the height and weight of his mount to his advantage by steering the horse directly into infantry in an attempt to break through the enemy's lines. This remained a general principle in spite of the changes in firearms and the rise of machine guns.[232] The cavalry did not begin changing this tactic until the late 1880s, first in colonial warfare and then in industrialized

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[229] Keith Chivers, "The Supply of Horses in Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century," *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter* (Ed. F.M.L. Thompson. Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983), 33.
[230] T.C. Barker, "The Delayed Decline of the Horse in the Twentieth Century," *Horses in European Economic History: A Preliminary Canter* (Ed. F.M.L. Thompson. Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983), 102.
[231] Margaret Derry, *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 46-47.
[232] Louis Edward, *Cavalry: Its History and Tactics* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2007 (1854)), 193-194.

warfare. In an attempt to regain tactical momentum in the face of industrialized warfare, many cavalry units were converted to mounted infantry.[233]

Between 1850 and 1890 that the military focused on standardizing and professionalizing its logistical services; this included the creation of the Army Service Corps and the Remount Department. The Army Service Corps used horses to transport military supplies in conflicts and the Remount Department was in charge of procuring replacement animals for all areas of the military. Both services attempted to establish a war horse industry and supply the army with everything from feed and fodder to saddles and combs to the animals themselves.

Like the British, other European nations viewed horses as inanimate objects, expending them with little thought of consequences. During the Franco-Prussian War, France and Prussia expended 150,000 and one million horses, respectively.[234] Many of these animals were purchased in large quantities on the international market.[235] Following the Franco-Prussian War, large horse shortages occurred across Europe and Great Britain and created a high demand in the international horse market.[236] This had two consequences for the British military: an influx of North American equines to the British horse market and the development of war horse breeding schemes to counteract the shortages. In fact, most of imported animals became working horses in urban cities rather than in agriculture.[237] Lieutenant-Colonel Underwood estimated that between 1863 and 1882, 376,000 horses were imported to Great Britain for use in urban centers.[238] The light draught horse markets in Britain and on the Continent were the hardest hit by the horse shortages, inasmuch as light draught horses comprised the largest portion of the military's war

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[233] Marquess of Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry, 1816 to 1919. Vol. 4: 1899 to 1913* (London: Leo Cooper, 1986), 411.
[234] Spencer Borden, *What Horse for the Cavalry?* (Fall River, MA: J.H. Franklin Co., 1912), 1.
[235] Martin Van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 111.
[236] Vere Dawson De Vere Hunt, *England's Horses for Peace and War: Their Origin, Improvement, and Scarcity* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1874), 2.
[237] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 115.
[238] Underwood, Lieutenant-Colonel, *The British War Horse: Shewing How the Breed can be Improved, the Numbers increased so as to Become Adequate to the Country's Needs, the Cost Lessened, the breeder Encouraged without any Extra Charge on the State* (London: Gale & Polden, 1891-93), 15-16.

horse population.[239] The military feared that this horse shortage would greatly affect Britain's ability to provide high-quality mounts both for domestic and military purposes. The military pressed then for the creation of an equine breeding program to produce the necessary numbers of horses in the event of future wars.[240]

Of course, military elites were always conscious of war expenditures, both the direct and the indirect costs. Economics dictated the pace and focus of improvements. In 1873, Parliament created a committee to discuss and propose solutions to the horse shortage which included breeding schemes involving stallion premiums, brood mares, and an increase in the importation of quality animals to enhance breeding efforts with quality stock.[241] After the Franco-Prussian War and the "war scare of 1877," programs were created to prepare for the future use of horses on the battlefield, because Great Britain did not possess the required number of quality animals for an "exhaustive European war."[242] Lieutenant-Colonel Underwood noted that "an ample supply of good horses for all branches of the army, is as necessary as good ships for the Navy."[243]The first breeding program was set up to discourage British farmers/breeders from selling their animals in foreign countries. Incentives were given to encourage the breeding of quality animals not only for the military, but for farming in general.[244]

As part of the breeding schemes, the government and the Military attempted to standardize the war horse stock after the Franco-Prussian War. Horses were deemed best for service between the ages of six and ten, though it was not uncommon for war horses prior to the Great War to remain in service into their teens. The army also preferred to employ dark-colored animals, particularly bay, chestnut, dun, and roan colorations, as these coats acted as natural

[239] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 39-40.
[240] Ibid., 14.
[241] Ibid., 103.
[242] Underwood, *The British War Horse*, iii.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid., 15.

camouflage. Cream and gray horses were only required for special purposes normally, and black horses were the least desirable color as their coats tended to reflect light.[245]

Rise of the Army Veterinary Corps

Until the end of the eighteenth century, there were no veterinary services in the British army. Horse management during this period was officially in the hands of farriers, who were in change of both shodding and health management. Heavy equine losses during the Napoleonic Wars led to calls for an officially organized military veterinary service, which was to be paralleled on the home front. Beginning in 1796, the Standing Committee of General Officers decided to formally recruit graduates from the newly created London Veterinary College, with the head of the College being appointed as the principal veterinary surgeon to the Cavalry and the Medical Superintendent to the Board of Ordnance. Professor Edward Coleman, who held these positions for forty-three years until his death in 1839, was instrumental in setting both the civilian and the military veterinary services on the formal course to professionalization.[246] Yet, by the Crimean War, there still existed no cohesive system for veterinary services in the British military, thereby adding to the already high equine death rates within the British army.[247]

Until the 1870s, the army veterinary services were organized on a regimental basis. Veterinary surgeons were recruited directly by cavalry regiments and rarely communicated with one another across the units. Also, there were no provisions for the care of sick or lame horses while on the march, so these animals were routinely abandoned or shot. For more than eighty years, the veterinary services never established permanent veterinary hospitals near the battlefields. The closest forerunners were the Sick Horse Depots of the late Napoleonic Wars,

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[245] Veterinary Department, *Animal Management 1908* (London, War Office, 1908), 29-31. National Army Museum 356.68.
[246] B.T.G. Forgrave, Lieutenant Colonel, *A History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps* (Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 1987), 3.
[247] Ibid., 4.

which collected debilitated equines. The organization of the British veterinary services from the 1850s to the 1870s was rudimentary at best and the veterinary supplies and medicines were crude even by the standards of the day.[248]

Between 1854 and 1870, the services of the Ordnance and the Cavalry were combined to streamline the Army Veterinary Services in war, although, the services remained under the control of civilian surgeons until the years immediately before the Anglo-Boer War in 1898. During the British campaign in Abyssinia in 1866, the army attempted to rectify the problems of poor horse management by establishing veterinary hospitals along the lines of communication. And while these Sick Depots were formed on an ad hoc basis, they were a progressive step toward reducing the potential equine wastage in warfare.[249] By 1881, the regimental veterinary service system had been abolished and replaced by a central command under the Army Veterinary Department. The new department also established its own veterinary school at Aldershot for the care and maintenance of other military animals, besides war horses.[250] The creation of the Army Veterinary Department unified the various military veterinary surgeons under a single uniform and role list for the first time.[251]

With the initial steps toward professionalization during the 1880s, the number of veterinary officers went from 14 in 1899 to 322 in 1902 in the field, but veterinary service was still woefully understaffed.[252] Provision had been made for the establishment of field veterinary hospitals in 1891, but with no subordinate staff. Then in 1898, provision for the care of sick and injured animals was eliminated, mostly due to expenditures and staff shortages. The British army entered the war in South Africa with no veterinary organization worthy of the name. It was left to the military authorities in South Africa to meet this deficiency, so the Director of Transport and Supply was nominated as the head of Remount and Veterinary Services. This combined system

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[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid., 5.
[250] Ibid., 5-6.
[251] Ibid., 6.
[252] Anglesey, *British Cavalry: Vol. 4*, 334-335.

of remount depots and sick horse hospitals was against professional advice, basic commonsense and previous experience. It was a policy that would later spread equine diseases such as glanders, epizootic lymphangitis, and mange throughout the British and Colonial Armies in South Africa.[253]

The Anglo Boer War Debacle

Despite the numerous calls for organized breeding schemes in Britain, the Anglo-Boer War put the operations on hold due to the immediate need for a large horse population in South Africa. M.F. Rimington, following the war, stated that the British military woefully underestimated the number of animals in the region in 1899.[254] Because of this, the British army purchased large amounts of horseflesh at home and abroad, especially in North America, Canada, Australia, India, and Argentina. From 1899 to 1902, the British shipped 459,336 animals to South Africa, mainly horses and mules, and they purchased local stock when necessary.[255]

Poor horse management and ignorance within the military turned South Africa into an "imperial knacker's yard."[256] The War Office estimated that the army could expect to use approximately sixty percent of its stock per year during the conflict in South Africa; however, the army experienced a wastage rate of 120 percent annually during the war, meaning they expended much more yearly than the army originally purchased, compared the annual rate of eighty percent during the Crimean War.[257] This means that the army had to completely replace its war horse stock almost every year during the war. The British army lost 347,000 out of 518,000 animals to

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[253] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 7.
[254] M.F. Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War* (Dublin: A. Thom & Co., 1904), 5.
[255] Anglesey, *British Cavalry: Vol. 4*, 298.
[256] A "knacker's yard" is a slaughterhouse for horses; Bill Nasson, *The South African War, 1899-1902* (London: Arnold, 1999), 151.
[257] Esher, Viscount, *How Britain Goes to War: a Digest and an Analysis of Evidence taken by the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, compiled from the Blue Books for the Information of the Public* (London: "Review of Reviews" Office, 1903), 176.

disease, poor treatment, and starvation alone.[258] It was estimated that the military "lost one horse for every 3.5 miles" it marched during the war.[259] To add to the losses due to poor management, the military lost tens of thousands of animals in combat. During the Anglo-Boer War, the British army routinely chose to destroy its horses rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy. One of the best examples of this type of war economics was at Winburg in the Orange Free State, where the British army slaughtered some 1,500 animals; this event is shown below.

Figure 3A[260]

One can see in this photograph the bodies of destroyed horses, littering the ground. It is difficult to tell from this image the physical condition of most of the bodies beyond the foreground; however, we can see clear signs of malnutrition and starvation, i.e. the appearance of the ribs and

[258] Ibid., 279.
[259] Elwyn Hartley Edwards, *Horses: Their Role in the History of Man* (London: Willow Books, 1987), 155.
[260] Peter Warwick, *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (London: Longman, 1980), 98-99.

hip bones. What is most striking about this image are the positions of the soldiers. Both men pose casually with the carcasses and appear unmoved or at least unencumbered by the sight of the animals. One man is posed as if the horses are hard-won big game prizes (the standing soldier) and the other man poses in a relaxed position on the ground, among the bodies. This image encapsulates the army's economic mentality toward war horses prior to the First World War. Rimington estimated that the Anglo-Boer War cost Britain 240 million pounds, with ten percent of that representing the cost of horses in the conflict.[261] In fact, the most expensive aspect of the Anglo-Boer War was the lack of good horse-management, which led to a drastic increase in equine wastage. The military tried numerous ways to increase equine survival rates, including the use of paint for camouflage and the establishment of the Sick Horse Hospitals in the field.[262] Originally, the Army Veterinary Department planned to provide one veterinary hospital for each Corps, but this system did not materialize during the war in South Africa.

Due to the climate and a lack of immunities, horses purchased outside of South Africa did not perform well and suffered terribly once they arrived. Furthermore, the military did not separate healthy and sick mounts in depots.[263] Despite improvements in military organization, in 1898, the "provision for the care of sick and injured animals was removed," leaving the British military without formal veterinary services as the country entered the Anglo-Boer War the following year. In the Anglo-Boer War, veterinary services were made up of civilian veterinarians who received no military training or rank and experienced a lack of resources and authority. The Director of Transport and Supply, though not a veterinarian, was appointed head of the Remount and Veterinary Services and ordered the creation of a "combined system of remount depots and sick horse hospitals," against the advice of many veterinary professionals.[264] This one act contributed the most to the massive increase in equine wastage rates for the British

[261] Rimington, *Horse in Recent War*, 3.
[262] Rimington, *Horse in Recent War*, 8.
[263] Anglesey, *British Cavalry: Vol. 4*, 291.
[264] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 7.

army between 1899 and 1902 because disease spread quickly through the depots as newly landed remounts were kept in close contact with infectious animals, leading to more cases and deaths.[265] Poor horse management also included little to no training of soldiers in proper horse care, improper adherence to remount purchasing standards, medical supply shortages, a lack of cohesive leadership, and little to no time for acclimation of important animals. [266]

Sandra Swart notes that during the Anglo-Boer War, soldiers bonded with their mounts by talking to them, living in close concert with them, and experiencing war together, leading to a blurring of the lines between horses as resources and horses as comrades for many soldiers on a large scale for the first time.[267] According to Swart, the genesis of total and industrialized war created a "visceral experience of the combat slaughter [which] evoked powerful personal and public emotions and changed minds about what was an acceptable casualty of war." Swart asserts that the massive loss of horses and mules during the war greatly affected soldiers' morale, which helped to bring the issue of war horse casualties to the attention of military leaders.[268] She contends that "the rotting carcasses of horses and mules [on the battlefield undoubtedly] left psychological scars" on the soldiers who fought alongside the animals.[269] The rising rates of industrialized warfare during the last half of the nineteenth century made the sight of war horse slaughter unavoidable [causing sympathy for, and in many cases empathy] with the animals lost in South Africa. And it is these increased forms of emotional association that planted the seeds of veteranization for harvesting during the Great War.

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[265] Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War*, NA.
[266] Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War*, NA; Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 7.
[267] Swart, *Riding High*, 128.
[268] Swart, *Riding High*, 122.
[269] Ibid.

Military Policy Changes due to the Anglo-Boer War

After the Anglo-Boer War, St. John Broderick wrote that Lord Kitchener would "go down in history as the largest horse killer of your or any other age."[270] During the postwar investigation, the army determined that most horses perished due to poor management, disease, or starvation rather than from combat wounds. Rimington, in his postwar report, advised the military to make training in good horse-management a top priority, as it could save the establishment millions of pounds in future wars.[271] Mobile veterinary hospitals were attempted during the Anglo-Boer War; however, due to staff shortages these programs remained ineffective until 1914.[272]

The news of the enormous waste of "British" war horse stock in South Africa reached Great Britain during the war, prompting public outcry about the mismanagement and sacrifice of the war horses.[273] The army implemented a collection of policy changes in an attempt to reduce future equine wastage, reorganizing and professionalizing the Veterinary Corps, the instituting a new policy of acclimatization for war horses, establishing new training programs in horse management for officers and soldiers of various Corps, and new policies were implemented to encourage soldier-horse bonding. Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals pressured the army for extensive reform. The Army Veterinary Corps formally professionalized between 1902 and 1919, despite experiencing the growing pains of constant reorganization and innovation.[274] In 1903, the army officially created the Army Veterinary Corps (AVC); three years later, the Army Veterinary Department and the

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[270] A.T. Yarwood, *Walers: Australian Horses Abroad* (Victoria, AU: Melbourne University Press, 1989), 172.
[271] Rimington, *Horse in Recent War*, 12.
[272] Anglesey, *British Cavalry: Vol. 4*, 338.
[273] Esher, *How Britain Goes to War*, 175.
[274] Frederick Smith, Major-General, *A History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps, 1796-1919* (London: Livesey, 1983), 161.

Army Veterinary Corps were combined to form one organization.[275] The army, upon the advice of numerous animal welfare organizations, formulated a cohesive veterinary service system for the AVC, with provisions for mobile veterinary units, evacuation hospitals, convalescent hospitals, and veterinary hospitals on the front lines. Each of these provisions was to be enhanced by the latest equine medicine and technology, with the new evacuation and treatment processes.[276] Major General Sir Frederick Smith was appointed the Director of the Army Veterinary Corps in 1907 and was influential in the reorganization of the Territorial Forces into the same system as the Regular Army. He also helped to introduce modern veterinary equipment to the Corps.[277] To streamline the veterinary services, the Remount Department became separate from the AVC, under the Quartermaster General, in 1913.[278]

One of the most important lessons of the Anglo-Boer War was the importance of acclimatization of the military horse populations in war. During the war, British Forces did not follow one simple rule: the "commander must suit his campaign to his horses, not his horses to his campaign. The horse has no hope when he gets tired, hungry, and beaten. He does not know when he will halt or get food ever again."[279] In his exposé, Sydney Galvayne suggested that the army needed to set up a standardized system to test equines for "hardiness" as well as place importance on the acclimation of war horses prior deployment and concentrate on training soldiers based on their horsemanship skill levels.[280] John Moore stated that the military had been too "apt to look upon horses as machines" in South Africa, leading to wastage. For example, one

[275] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 8.
[276] Smith, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, NA.
[277] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 9.
[278] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 9.
[279] Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War*, 13.
[280] Sydney Galvayne, *War Horses Present and Future; or, Remount Life in South Africa* (London: R.A. Everett & Co, 1902), 184-89.

cannot place a Waler[281] in a different climate without allowing it to acclimate to the change in seasons and environmental conditions.[282]

Both officers and soldiers needed to be trained in effective horse management and care. Major General L.J. Blenkinsop concisely summarized this new focus on education in the military: "At one time animal management was looked upon as entirely separate from veterinary science, just as in the dawn of human medicine there was little recognition of the essential connection of [veterinary science] with the principles of hygiene. […] Modern science, however, has bridged the gulf. […] Animal management, in short, is preventative veterinary medicine."[283] And Rimington wrote that most military animal cruelties, in both war and in peace, were "nine times of out ten the result of ignorance," adding that "it may save us many millions of pounds and the horrible cruelties" to war horses to teach good horse management.[284] Prior to 1903, the main goal of the army was to teach men to ride their horses, not to care for them.[285] According to John Singleton, one of the most important results of the Anglo-Boer War was that the "War Office accepted that horses were delicate and valuable military assets, which provided excellent service when properly maintained, but soon broke down when neglected as a result of poor training or a false sense of economy."[286] Rimington stated that a veterinary surgeon in many ways is more important to the war effort, because "A man can call out when anything is wrong with him, but the wretched horse cannot;" therefore, veterinary surgeons not only help the animal but they help the army in the field by saving assets.[287] Finally, in an effort to educate soldiers in proper horse management, the army began to publish a variety of detailed, standardized training field manuals. With these manuals include all of the pertinent information necessary for the care and treatment

[281] The Waler is a breed of horse originating from New South Wales in Australia.
[282] John Moore, Major-General, *Army Veterinary Service in War* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1921), 55-56.
[283] L.J. Blenkinsop, Major-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel JW Rainey, *History of the Great War based on Official Documents: Veterinary Services* (London: HMSO, 1925), 59.
[284] Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War*, 12.
[285] Esher, *How Britain Goes to War*, 186.
[286] John Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," *Past and Present* 139 (May, 1993): 200.
[287] Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War*, 11.

of war horses at the front and on the march. For example, a 1904 army training manual covered information on everything from care of horses in stables, on marches, first line veterinary treatments, and basic feeding and watering requirements.[288] Manuals provided detailed instructions on the precise amount of feed and water for each breed of horse, the amount of daily exercise, grooming, shoeing and foot care, march styles and paces, and on the maintenance of stables and billets.[289]

Increased emphasis on the cultivation of a personal bond between soldiers and their equine charges was a major feature of these new training manuals. The 1904 training manual states that "every mounted man should regard his horse as a part of himself, and should remember that his efficiency, and his safety on service, depends on the fitness of his horse."[290] Rimington criticized previous army policies, saying that "I am not sure that the system on which we teach our men to ride is one that makes them love their horses. A recruit who has never been on a horse before he joined has a very rough time in learning to ride; it is a very difficult process to that under which you learn to ride; it is not one by which a man learns to love his horse and regard him as his best friend."[291] Compared to previous years where soldiers rarely rode the same horse consecutively, men after 1904 were expected to "ride and tend the same horse for months on end, sleeping in the open only a few yards behind the picket lines at night, and suffering the same privations." This change in policy led to a change in attitude, in that as "the soldier came to regard his horse as almost an extension of his own being."[292] Soldiers were instructed to follow a new golden rule "Look after the horses first, then the men, and then yourself" as part of their formal army training.[293] This was the opposite of earlier advice. Prior to 1904, the army believed that allowing soldiers and their animals to bond would become a "source of weakness" within the

[288] War Office, *Manual of Horse and Stable Management* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1904), NA.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid., 5.
[291] Rimington, *The Horse in Recent War*, 13.
[292] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 128-129.
[293] Edwards, *Horses*, 157.

army, because troops could become too attached to their mounts, worrying more about the animal's safety than the advancing against the enemy.[294] However, as we will see in the next chapter, this new policy of social bonding would have major positive and even unexpected consequences in the First World War. In particular, it became the foundation of the process of veteranization for British war horses.

After the debacle in South Africa, the British government and army worked toward a breeding program for potential war horse stock. At a 1910 conference to discuss the British supply of horses for the military, it was calculated that the army would need to raise a war horse population of between 300,000 to 500,000 within the first year of a future European war. Conference participants contended that the allotted £5,000 for army breeding was woefully inadequate, especially in view of the fact that often other Continental nations were spending £200,000 to £500,000 on their own programs. They suggested that Britain needed to match if not exceed the other nations' expenditures if Britain was to successfully compete in future conflicts.[295] Hence, the Horse-breeding Committee within the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries concluded that a combination of the horse crisis in the 1870s, industrialization and mechanization in both agriculture and the city, and a decrease in horse breeding caused a weakening of the potential war horse population in Britain and, hence, a breeding scheme needed to be crafted to reinvigorate the health of Britain's horse supply. [296]

The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries was placed in charge of the former breeding scheme and created a new plan in 1911 to increase and improve Britain's horse population, especially the light draught breeds. The light horse breeding program established incentives for farmers to use government stallions to produce quality army stock. However, the program did

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[294] Anglesey, *British Cavalry: Vol. 4*, 412.
[295] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 119.
[296] Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, Horsebreeding Committee, *Report of the Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to consider and advise what steps should be taken in England and Wales to secure an adequate supply of horses suitable for military purposes* (London: HMSO, 1915), 1.

not fully get off the ground by the start of the Great War, leaving the army with only 25,000 war horses upon mobilization in 1914.[297] The government also ordered the first horse census in Western history, which compiled data on the number of horses and breeds within the British Isles for the express purpose of assessing the potential war horse stock throughout the country. The census was compiled in 1911-1912, and was prepared with the creation of an Emergency Army Act empowering the military to impress British horses quickly in the event of future wars.[298] The 1911-1912 census showed that within Britain (not including Ireland) there were 462,000 horses suitable for army use. The census estimated that there existed approximately 51,000 saddle horses for the British cavalry, 44,000 light horses suitable for remount service, 71,000 horses for artillery service, 88,000 light draught horses, and 197,000 heavy draught horses."[299] F.M.L. Thompson estimated that Britain possessed a total of 3,017,000 horses in both urban and agricultural centers, as compared to John Moor's calculation of a European horse population of 40 million prior to the Great War. [300] On 16 April 1914, the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and the War Office estimated that the British army would require approximately 102,521 equines upon the declaration of war.[301] The army placed officers in charge of collection parties in gather up all horses for impressment in the event of war in Europe. These animals would then be transferred to military depots in southern Britain for assessment and training before being shipped abroad for combat.[302] At the outbreak of the Great War, the military was forced to impress nearly 140,000 in a matter of twelve days because only 25,000 horses were immediately available to the army. [303] F.M.L. Thompson characterizes the impressments as the beginning of the "horse crisis

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[297] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 119-20.
[298] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses," 183.
[299] Ann Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era: The Boer War to the Beginning of the Second Millennium* (Stockton-on-Tees, UK: Black Tent Publications, 2010), 64-65.
[300] F.M.L. Thompson, "Nineteenth-Century Horse Sense," *The Economic History Review* 29 (Feb., 1976): 80: Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 39.
[301] Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Report of the Committee*, 2-3.
[302] Home Office, *The Impressment of Horses in Time of National Emergency being an Explanation of the System Adopted and the Law and Procedure in regard thereto* (London: HMSO, 1912), 5.
[303] F.M.L. Thompson, *Horses in European Economic History: a Preliminary Canter* (Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983), 53.

of the Great War" because it would be a consist struggle for all of the belligerents to maintain a significant equine population on the battlefield due to the engulfing nature the war.[304] Changes in these military policies and budgets prior to 1914 drastically altered military economics during the world wars, and these alterations played a pivotal role in shaping the wartime bonds between soldiers and horses in the age of total war, including the re-evaluation of the term "veteran" by soldiers.

[304] Ibid., 57.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSEQUENCES OF MILITARY ECONOMICS ON SOLDIER-HORSE BONDING DURING THE GREAT WAR

Of the approximately sixteen million war horses involved on all sides in World War I, close to eight million horses perished on all fronts, causing a juxtaposition of economic callousness and emotional empathy in the British army.[305] The state-military complex viewed war horses as economic assets to be supplied, exploited, and expended, but the average British soldier came to empathize with the plight of the horse, because of their shared experiences. Intense pair bonding of soldiers and horses exposed the widening gap between the economic, detached view of the military elites and the soldiers' view of comrades-in-arms.

Maintaining the War Horse Population during the Great War

During the course of the first year of the war, Britain purchased more than 500,000 horses in the British Isles alone.[306] When the bulk of the British horse supply dried up in the early days of the war due to rising costs and decreasing availability, Britain purchased hundreds of thousands of animals overseas, mainly from the United States and Canada. North America supplied over

[305] Ernest Baynes, *Animal Heroes of the Great War* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 26.
[306] The one type of horse in British society that was completely exempt from impressment was railroad animals, even agricultural horses did not completely escape the war effort; Edwin Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War: Organisation, Efforts, Difficulties and Achievements* (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1921), 47.

688,000 equines for the British war effort during the war.[307] Britain also imported tens of thousands of war horses from its colonies, including Australia, India, and South Africa.[308] The international horse market became a "war horse market" by 1917, according to Margaret Derry.[309] The main American horse markets used by the British on the eve of the Great War were: Fort Worth, Texas; Kansas City, Kansas; St. Louis, Missouri; Denver, Colorado; Miles City, Montana; Ft. Smith, Arkansas; and Sacramento, California. These purchases garnered the United States alone approximately £36.5 million, or approximately $82.5 million.[310] Animals were purchased in North America for £40- £200, depending on the breed, and could be shipped to Britain and Europe for around £10.[311] Between 500-1,000 animals were shipped from North America every 1.5 days during the war, an arrangement that was cheaper after 1915 than purchasing animals in Great Britain.[312] This was an immense investment on the same level of artillery and firearms, leading the British War Office to monitor the employment and maintenance of the remounts.

The army issued directives to purchasing officers with detailed and strict requirements for its war horse stock. Horses and mules were suitable only if they stood between 14.3 and 16.1 hands (approximately 4.5 feet to 5.5 feet from hoof to shoulder), depending on the breed and function of the animal. Officers' chargers needed to be approximately 15.2-16.0 hands in height, while cavalry troop horses needed to be approximately 15.2 hands. Pack horses needed to be 15.0 hands, while Royal Horse Artillery (RHA) and Royal Field Artillery (RFA) horses needed to be between 15.2 and 16.0, depending on their location within the teams. Heavy draught horses could be 16.1 hands while light draughts should be closer to 15.2. Pack mules generally came in

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[307] Cecil French, *A History of the Canadian Army Veterinary Corps in the Great World War, 1914-1919* (Guelph, Ontario, Canada: Crest Books, 1999), 134.
[308] John Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," *Past and Present* 139 (May, 1993): 186.
[309] Margaret Derry, *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 135.
[310] Phil Livingston and Ed Roberts, *War Horse: Mounting the Cavalry with America's Finest Horses* (Albany, TX: Bright Sky Press, 2003), 31-32: Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," 187.
[311] Ibid., 184.
[312] Ibid., 188.

at the bottom of the standard at 14.3 hands.[313] It was also a general policy that the British army wanted animals between ages four to seven years old, and preferred mares or geldings (though, according to Terry Kinloch, mares were more desirable). The army also was not picky on coloration as long as the animal was not cream or gray.[314] Light horse breeds were preferred for the majority of the wartime duties, mainly because heavier breeds such as the Shire horse were less adaptable due to their fragile constitutions.[315] The army purchased light draught horse breeds more often than all other war types by a ratio of 20 to 1. This was done consciously in an effort to offset estimated wastage rates for this class, which were usually the higher given their ubiquity in service.[316] The Waler, exported from Australia during the war was the most frequently employed horse breed with over 160,000 Walers being shipped to various fronts during the war.[317] A high level of the Walers were the personal property of soldiers prior to the outbreak of the war, meaning that bonding had already occurred prior to combat in many cases.[318]

Between 1914 and 1920, the British military spent £67.5 million on horses and mules (or approximately 0.22 percent of Britain's total World War I expenditures, including for original purchase, training, shipping, supplies, and veterinary care.[319] Below is a table of the total equine strength of the British army during the First World War. We can see that within the first year of the war, the army purchased over 500,000 equines, and then continued to purchase animals in increasing numbers based on the estimated needs of the military during campaigns. The table shows that the total strength of the war horse population peaked in 1917 at just under 900,000 animals, before the army began to reduce its war horse assets through casting.

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[313] John Moore, Major-General, *Army Veterinary Service in War* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1921), 99-100; One hand equals 4 inches and is measured from the bottom of the hoof to the top of the shoulder.
[314] Terry Kinloch, *Devils on Horses: In the Words of the ANZACS in the Middle East, 1916-1918* (Auckland, NZ: Exisle Publishing, 2007), 33-34.
[315] Ann Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era: The Boer War to the Beginning of the Second Millennium* (Stockton-on-Tees, UK: Black Tent Publications, 2010), 85.
[316] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 113.
[317] Louis DiMarco, *War Horse: A History of the Military Horse and Rider* (Yardley: Westholme, 2008), 322-323.
[318] Ibid.
[319] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War, 1914-1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), 397 and 561.

Table 4.A
Equine Strength of the British army by Years

	Equine Total Strength
August 1914	25,000
August 1915	534,951
August 1916	789,135
August 1917	869,931
August 1918	828,360
August 1919	210,090
August 1920	110,708

[320]

For more information on the specific breakdown by function of the British war horse strength from 1917-1920, please see Appendix, Table 4.B; this table shows the general trends in British war horse deployment as well as trends in castings after the Armistice. The British Empire mobilized 8,780,725 men compared to 1,361,000 equines.[321] Michael Thompson estimates that there were approximately one equine for every six British factory workers on the home front, one equine for every four soldiers in the British army, and one equine for every five soldiers on the Western Front alone.[322] After WWI, the military kept the war horse strength at approximately four to one, even with mechanization until 1939.[323]

Britain saw a total of 225,856 died/lost/missing/destroyed with another 30,348 casted during the war for a total of 256,204 equines lost. We can compare these statistics to those of the French army, which saw a total of 376,201 died/lost/missing/destroyed and 165,513 casted during

[320] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort*, 396.
[321] John Ellis and Michael Cox, *The World War I Databook: the Essential Facts and Figures for All the Combatants* (London: Aurum Press, 2001), 245; John Moore, Major-General, *Our Servant the Horse: An Appreciation of the Part Played by Animals during the War, 1914-1918* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1934), 9-10.
[322] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," 195.
[323] Baynes, *Animal Heroes*, 49-50.

the war for a total of 541,714 lost during the Great War.[324] After the war, the War Office published a collection of military statistics calculating the average equine wastage rates by year and theater. See Appendix, Table 4.C. On the western front, the average wastage levels fluctuated between twelve percent and thirty percent, which was only marginally higher than on the home front, which averaged between four percent and seventeen percent. The theater with the lowest rates was in Mesopotamia, where the British army experienced levels between one percent and nine percent, and this despite the fact that the British campaign in modern-day Iraq was only one of two theaters where the cavalry performed uninhibited. Finally, the campaign that experienced the heaviest losses during the war was East Africa, with losses between sixteen percent and 290 percent. These rates were twice as high as that of the Anglo-Boer War and were mainly caused by the tsetse fly. We can easily see the wastage rates increase and decrease depending on the battle campaigns in the various regions, most notably the spike in casualties in 1916 and 1917 in the Somme and Passendaele campaigns, and the Palestinian campaigns.[325] In all, Ann Hyland estimates that the British army lost 685,487 equines on all fronts, including the home front.[326] The light draught horses had the highest wastage rates, because of their employment as artillery horses and transport animals.[327] It was expected that only one quarter of all equine casualties in France and Belgium alone were due to battle wounds; the rest were due to exhaustion, disease, and starvation.[328] The average life expectancy of a war horse in World War I was between three months and three years, depending on weather and battle conditions.[329] In fact, the thirty-four percent average wastage rate over the five years of the war was a dramatic

[324] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort*, 397.
[325] Ibid., 880-881.
[326] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 86-87.
[327] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 57.
[328] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," 199.
[329] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 136.

improvement over previous wars, though the wartime slaughter was far more gruesome than in any war before it.[330]

Because of their important utilities in the war, the army and individual soldiers spent a great deal of time and effort to keep their animals live. During World War I, it was stated that "fodder supplies were as precious as those of petroleum."[331] Fodder was so important during the war that heavy restrictions were placed on both civilian equines and racing horses to allow for a steady supply of high-quality food for the war horses.[332] The army shipped 2,978,301 tons of oats and 2,460,301 tons of hay to the Western Front compared to 758,614 tons of petrol.[333] Soldiers used sunken roads and abandoned trenches routinely to provide shelter for their horses, even going so far as to camouflage the makeshift accommodations. Other individuals preferred the use of shell holes to protect their animals.[334] One of the most unusual deception strategies of the war occurred in the Middle East, where British Territorial Troops built fake, dummy horse lines to fool the enemy of British positions, as Middle Eastern reconnaissance largely fired on horse lines in an attempt to blast away the army's "legs".[335] Here we see the creation of decoy horse lines in the Middle East.

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[330] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses," 199; *Statistics of the Military Effort*, 879-80.
[331] Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses 1914-1918," 196.
[332] Ibid., 197.
[333] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort*, 485.
[334] French, *Canadian Army Veterinary Corps*, 158.
[335] Elyne Mitchell, *Light Horse: The Story of Australia's Mounted Troops* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1978), 94.

Figure 4.A[336]

These decoys appear to be constructed with wood, hay, and blankets. Though the photograph is black and white, we can infer that the blankets are most likely brown or dark green, and from a distance, across the desert or from the air, the coloring of the decoys would have mimicked the coat of a horse. We can also see that the decoys are relatively large in size, as they stand taller than the rock wall in front of them. Aside from a lack of movement, it would be difficult to determine the difference between the decoys and actual animals. These decoys served a pragmatic function for the army (reducing horse deaths) as well as a sentimental function for soldiers (the protection of personal mounts).

The army also instituted new policies to handle the exorbitant massing of war horses in the field during the war. As shown in the fifth recruitment poster, the British army set up four farriery schools to counter the shortage of farriers (a craftsman who trims and shoes hooves) in

[336] "A Row of Dummy Horses at a Camp in the Jordan Valley, c. 1918.- B02667." Australian War Memorial. As seen in Kinloch, *Devils on Horses*, 309.

the lines.[337] Another change was the use of women at remount depots in Britain to counter the troop shortages by 1917. The two most notable examples of this gender exchange are the Ladies' Army Remount Deport at Russley Park and the remount park at Calcol Park, both of which were established by 1915.[338] The British army even had specific requirements created for the disposal of war horse manure at the front. Most manure was collected in dumps, which were in easy reach of the local farmers for distribution. A trench was usually dug, the manure shoveled in, and the mound covered with approximately eight inches of topsoil. Sometimes, especially during the summertime, the manure was dried and set on fire.[339]

The government ordered a horse census three years early in 1917 in an effort to help the Ministry of Food with the administration of the new Horses Rationing Order, to advise the Oats Committee and the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies to calculate cereal requirements for horses on the home front, and to help establish a system for transferring casted military horses into civilian hands.[340] The census gave the commission an idea of the bare minimum fodder rations on the home front, thus, allowing for the quick release of extra grains, oats, and hay supplies to the fronts.[341] According to the census, Britain possessed approximately 2,650,773 horses and 12,775 mules, with further statistics on the ages of the horses, their breeds, and their regional locations, and distinguishes civilian from military uses of riding horses, light draught horses, ponies, and heavy draught horses.[342] See Appendix, Table 4.D.

The armies of World War I depended mostly on their horses for transporting supplies. Major General L.J. Blenkinsop wrote that "those who witnessed and depended for their sustenance and means of defence upon the work of pack animals in bringing up food and

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[337] B.T.G. Forgrave, Lieutenant Colonel, *A History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps* (Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 1987), 11.
[338] Derry, *Horses in Society*, 220.
[339] French, *Canadian Army Veterinary Corps*, 151.
[340] Board of Trade Inter-Departmental Committee on the Utilisation and Feeding of Horses, *Report on the Census of Horses taken on the 21st April, 1917, in Great Britain, and on the 1st June, 1917, in Ireland* (London: HMSO, 1917), 2.
[341] Thompson, *Horse in European Economic History*, 58; Singleton, "Britain's Military Use of Horses", 197.
[342] British government, *Census of the Horses*, 5.

ammunition through constantly shelled, muddy ground, which was impassable for wheeled transport, will agree that animals are necessary for warlike purposes."[343] Teams of six to twelve horses were employed to move field guns, leading one historian to state that "the number of horses involved is incalculable" between 1916 and 1918, when guns were approximately every ten yards across the Western Front.[344] The February 1915 edition of *Animal World* included the article, "Our Dumb Conscripts," discusses the training of military horses and provides information on the animals' bodily requirements for service. "A disciplined war horse is a valuable fighting asset. He is in many respects as clever as the man who guides him, and can teach a new rider a great deal. Many of our artillery horses, according to a war correspondent, know with mathematical exactness the proper interval of one gun from another. To swing the gun round at the due distance is now ingrained as an instinct and performed with the regularity of a ploughing horse when he turns at the headland of the field."[345] This article attributes to the horse a subtle consciousness not given to other war animals. The function as a transport animal was essential, however: "When it is remembered that even a partial breakdown in the horse transport arrangements in our towns and cities may have serious consequences as regards the distribution of the food of the people, upon the movement of munitions, and upon the clearing of docks and railway depots, it will be realized that the matter is one of no small importance."[346] Horses were used to lay telegraph and telephone lines at the front.[347] Horses were also used in logging operations, because as large supplies of wood were required for trenches, lines of communication, and some structures.[348]

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[343] L.J. Blenkinsop, Major-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel JW Rainey, *History of the Great War based on Official Documents: Veterinary Services* (London: HMSO, 1925), 63.
[344] J.M. Brereton, *The Horse in War* (New York: Arco Publishing, 1976), 126.
[345] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, February 1915), 18.
[346] Home Office, "Horse Supplies and Transport," *Board of Trade Journal* (March 21, 1918), 335-336.
[347] Jon E. Lewis, ed., *The Mammoth Book of Eyewitness World War I* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003), 466-467.
[348] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 93.

Crafting the Image of the War Horse

The military employed war horses as figurative symbols both for recruiting at home and morale in the field. It was not unusual during the Great War, in the age of early consumerism, to find wartime souvenir postcards decorated with scenes of cavalry charges, both artists' depictions and photographic depictions. We also find images of artillery horses.[349] These recruitment posters always place the war horse at the center of the action as a symbol of power, prestige, and glamour. In Figure 4.B, we see the cavalry charging into battle with the slogan "Forward! Forward to Victory. Enlist Now." emblazoned on the poster, a typical image of the cavalry in action.

[349] Tony Allen, *Animals at War, 1914-1918* (First World War Topics, No. 7. York: Holgate, 1999), 4-5.

Figure 4.B[350]

The poster depicts a soldier charging with his saber raised; the horse is galloping with its nostrils flared in excitement. The poster plays on the common illusion that the cavalry charge is still an important aspect of modern warfare; however, we saw in chapter two that even before the Great War that the charge as a military tactic was failing due to modern weaponry. This poster, like many of the war, glamourizes combat in an effort to recruit soldiers and maintain military and domestic morale and support. While the emphasis is on the cavalryman in this poster, the horse

[350] "Forward! Forward to Victory. Enlist Now!" National Army Museum. NAM. 1977-06-81-12. As seen in Simon Butler, *The War Horses: The Tragic Fate of a Million Horses in the First World War* (Somerset, UK: Halsgrove, 2011), 47.

and its excited posture plays an important role in shaping the view of soldiers and horses at the front.

In Figure 4.C, we see a more playful depiction of the cavalry and the war horse, playing polo in the desert. The poster reads "Are you fond of Horses? Then Join the Cavalry."

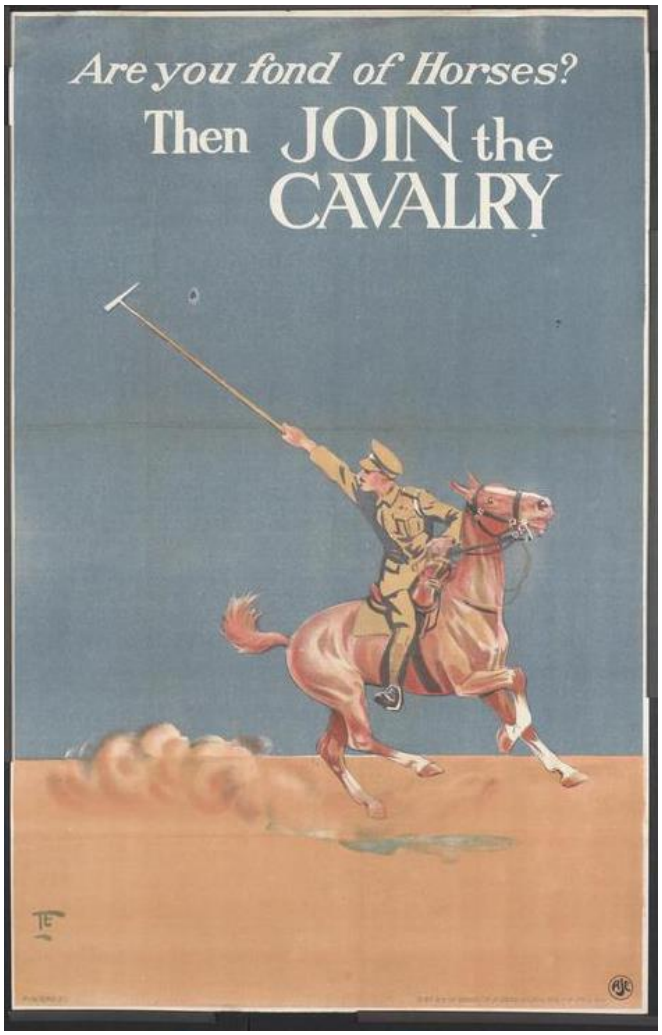

Figure 4.C[351]

This poster attempts to recruit men for service by emphasizing the horse and the entertaining aspects of war. The poster shows a cavalryman playing polo in the desert and tells the viewer that war is nothing more than a leisure activity, something to allay boredom, particularly for the

[351] "Fond of Horses? Join the Cavalry." Imperial War Museum. IWM PST 7675. As seen in Butler, *War Horses*, 81.

middle and upper classes since they would be more familiar with the concept of leisure time and the sport of polo. The poster also implies that the cavalry is for gentlemen only as they are the types of persons to enjoy horse-based sports. The poster does not imply that one needs knowledge of working horses to join the cavalry, only a knowledge of hunters and other expensive breeds. Like 4.B, this poster uses the war horse to shape recruitment pools and, as a byproduct, crafts the image of the war horse as a companion at the front by comparing the horse as a team mate.

In Figures 4.D and 4.E, the poster focuses on the manliness and high-action of the artillery corps. 4.D shows a team of artillery horses shying from an exploding shell as they charge their guns to the front; the post reads "At the Front! Every fit Briton should join our brave men at the Front. Enlist Now."

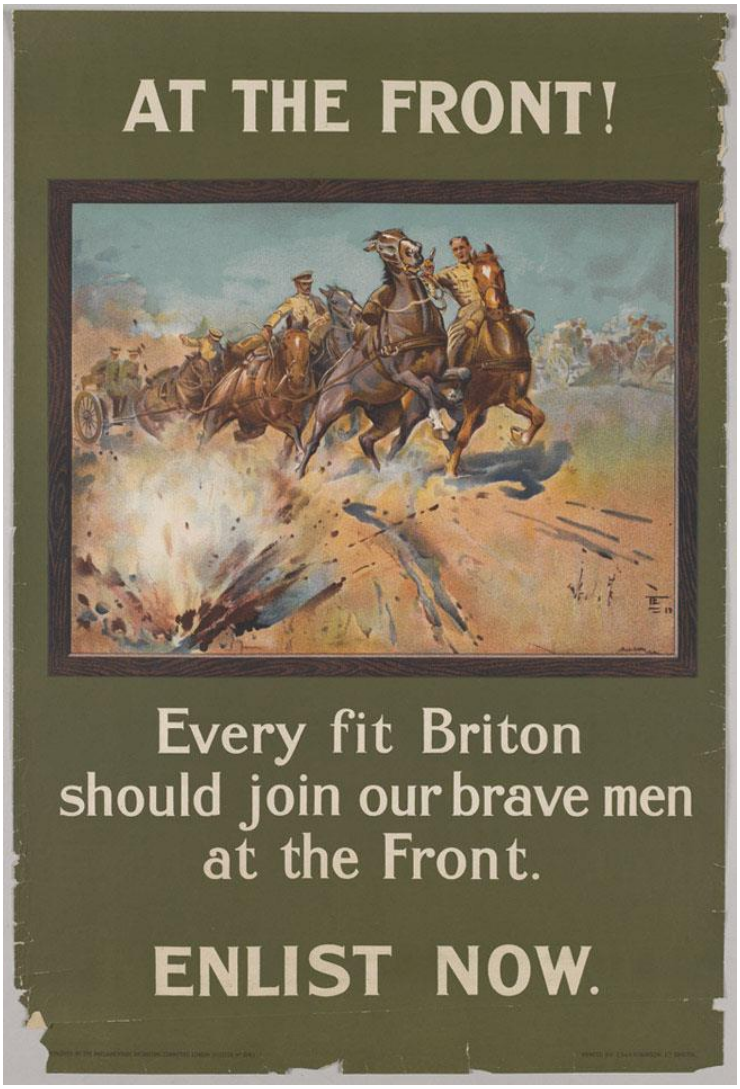

Figure 4.D[352]

The poster depicts more realistic wartime conditions e.g. an artillery team shying from an exploding bomb; however, the emphasis is still on the excitement and the unpredictableness of war. It focuses on the dangers of war to both men and animals, but the message is one of duty and sacrifice for the war effort rather than sentimentality and aid. Figure 4.E is very similar to the above illustration, but emphasizes the importance of manliness in the artillery corps, stating "Artillery Heroes at the front say 'Get into a Man's Uniform."' This poster does not show exploding bombs, though it does show smoke or dust in the background. The horses are depicted

[352] "At the Front!" National Army Museum. NAM 135958. As seen in Butler, *War Horses*, 51.

charging headlong into battle with their soldiers courageously steering them. This poster follows the themes presented in Figure 4.B. The horses are front and center in the image, but remain props in the war effort.

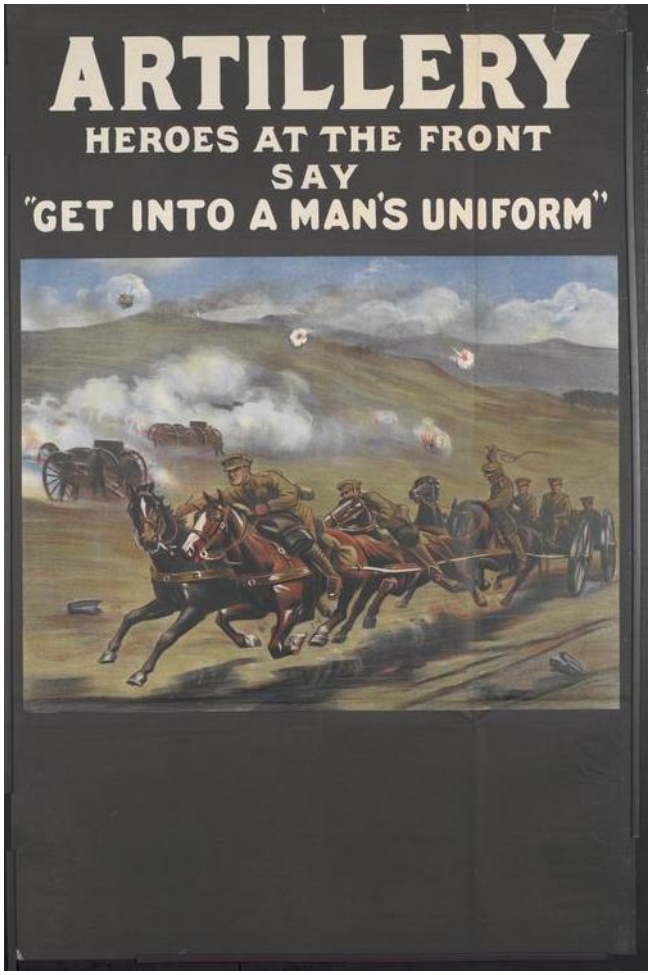

Figure 4.E[353]

In Figure 4.F, we see a call for men to volunteer for farrier duties in the military. This poster, unlike like the cavalry posters in particular, would have been aimed at recruiting tradesmen and other working class citizens to join the military outside of the trenches. The title advertises one's ability to become a trained and skilled tradesman in the military as part of the AVC's farriery school. The motive behind this poster is to tell the lower middle and working classes that they

[353] "Artillery, Heroes at the Front say 'Get into a Man's Uniform." Imperial War Museum. IWM PST 12342. As seen in Butler, *War Horses*, 69.

can improve their station in society by developing a trade, a skill that they can use after the war. This would have been very enticing for unskilled laborers looking to move up the social and economic ladders toward better pay and better working/living conditions.

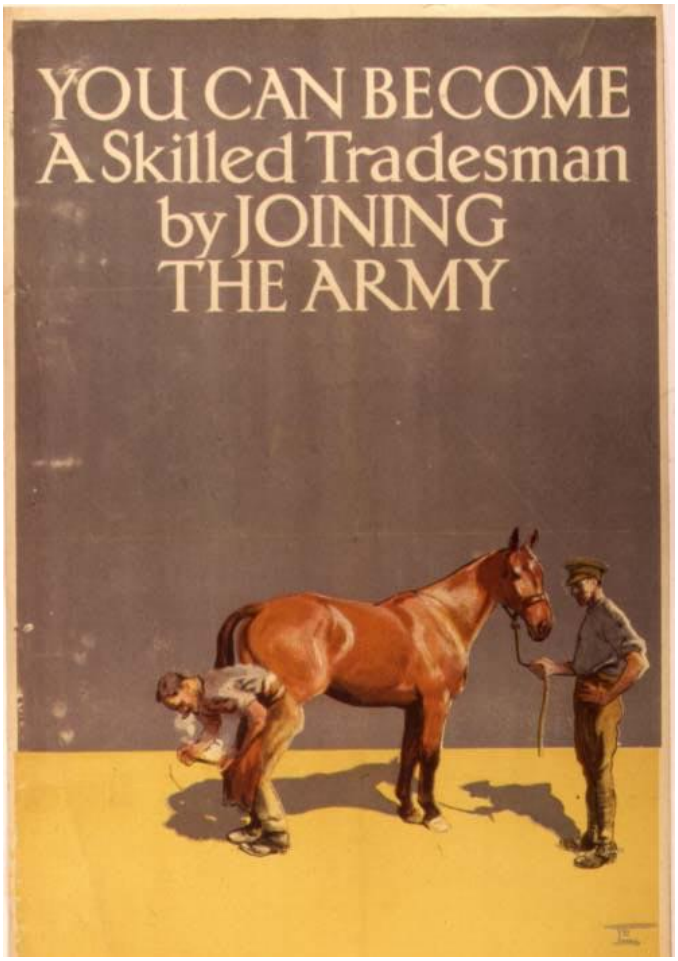

Figure 4.F[354]

Divisional Horse Shows, like the 20th Light Division Horse Show in 1917 and the Divisional Horse Show in France in 1918, comprised a variety of events including teams pulling cookers and water-carts, heavy teams, light teams, mule teams, pack horses, cavalry events, jumping events, driving events, and artillery horse events.[355][356] John Moore insisted that military

[354] "You can become a Skilled Tradesman by Joining the Army." Georgetown University. As seen in Butler, *War Horses*, 63.
[355] 20th (Light) Division, *20th (Light) Division Horse Show in France, Friday July 13th 1917: Programme* (NA: Yvert and Tellier, 1917), 2.
[356] J.H. Sheard, *Private Papers of J.H. Sheard*, 1914-1918, Imperial War Museum, 5-17.

horse shows during campaigns were not as frivolous as they appeared on the surface. He stated that they acted as a morale booster for the troops, and also helped to illustrate how well-conditioned, well-cared-for, well-trained horses should look and behave. The shows indirectly educated soldiers in equine welfare and management. He insisted that the shows pointed out the "flotsam and jetsam of war," and could lead to better care of horses.[357] L.J. Blenkinsop believed that the army horse shows were more a product of the "ever-growing interest and pride in the welfare and quality of army horses and mules."[358]

Soldiers themselves reacted to the horse shortages on the fronts. It was not uncommon for units to circumvent army rules to procure needed animals outside of the remount system; this included trading, borrowing, and even stealing horses from other units on the fronts. Hyland argues that while these activities were fairly widespread, the Australians "were probably the best, or worst, at theft, according to how it was used."[359] The military rule that was broken most often by units was the hoarding of extra horses within the unit. Many commanders routinely underestimated the number of horses in their possession to maintain a surplus of animals as replacements for casualties.[360] At times, the horse shortage at the front was so acute that soldiers resorted to stealing animals from other units.[361] Soldiers went to great lengths to hide their stolen prizes including using paint and shoe polish to alter the animals' appearance and keep the search parties from removing the animal from their care.[362]

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[357] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 50.
[358] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 60.
[359] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 93-94.
[360] Ibid., 95.
[361] Harry Siepmann, *Echo of the Guns: Recollections of an Artillery Officer, 1914-18* (London: Robert Hale, 1987), 32.
[362] Ibid., 44-45.

Veterinary Care and Bonding

Captain Sidney Galtrey wrote,

> who have the responsibility of our war animals in their charge spare no endeavour to exercise every possible care in order that wastage shall be kept at the lowest possible mark. We must realize that the world's horse supply is not inexhaustible and that the drain on it since 1914 has been stupendous. The efficiency of our Armies depends on the preservation of our horse supply, and it is due both to ourselves as a nation and to the horses themselves that the fact should be understood. I believe that every soldier who has to do with horse or mule has come to love them for what they are and the grand work they have done and are doing in and out of the death zone. I want the public who have had no opportunity to know to share that admiration.[363]

This sentiment was echoed by John Moore of the Army Veterinary Corps, who writes that the effectiveness of a horse in war was directly dependent on the "ability and thoughtfulness of individuals who are constituted their masters, philosophers, and guides" and the individuals that horses depended on were members of the veterinary services.[364] With the ubiquity and vitalness of the war horse in the British army, the Army Veterinary Corps (AVC) became one of the most influential subdivisions of the military, as they heavily influenced wastage rates, quarantine procedures, and war costs.

When war was declared in 1914, the AVC was comprised of 122 officers, 208 regulars, and 726 reservists. By 1918, the AVC had commissioned a total of 1,670 officers and 27,950 enlisted men. In all 41,755 men served with the AVC during the war.[365] Below, we see the expansion of the AVC during the war. The AVC expanded from six veterinary hospitals in 1914 to eighteen by the end of the war. The army did not possess any convalescence hospitals in 1914 but built four during the war. The AVC also expanded their mobile veterinary units from eleven

[363] Sidney Galtrey, Captain, *The Horse and the War* (London: "Country Life," 1918), 18.
[364] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 113.
[365] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 9.

to sixty-six. Finally, the Corps established seven economizers, which were used to process horse carcasses at the front and a bacteriological laboratory on the Western Front. [366]

Table 4.E
The Expansion of the Army Veterinary Corps, 1914-1918[367]

Categories	1914	1918
Veterinary Hospitals	6	18
Convalescence Hospitals	0	4
Evacuating Stations	0	17
Mobile veterinary Units	11	66
Economizers	0	7
Veterinary Supply Depots	2	5

Between August 1914 and March 1919, the AVC treated 2,526,549 cases while curing and discharging 1,887,646 cases or 74.7 percent of its cases on all fronts.[368] In France alone, the AVC admitted almost 800,000 individual equines to its facilities, cured close to 530,000 animals, destroyed 127,000, sold 30,000 with another 19,000 dying while in treatment. As previously stated, the laborious work of the Army Veterinary Corps led to a total of 2.5 million equines being treated during the course of the war, many as repeat patients.[369]

Moore estimated that, on average, 3,000 horses were cured weekly from the veterinary hospitals on the Western Front.[370] Of the almost one million horses used by the British in the First World War, only 65,000 were repatriated back to Great Britain after the Armistice under the direction of the AVC. Of these, the majority were to be sold on the home front for civilian purposes, mostly in agriculture, while a few were retained for the British horse breeding scheme; a small percentage were personal mounts of officers, like General Jack Seely's Warrior and

[366] Moore, *Our Servant the Horse*, 23.
[367] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 7.
[368] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 509.
[369] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 10.
[370] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 30.

Colonel Sir Percy Laurie's Quicksilver.[371] The high rate of success for the Veterinary Corps mounted to large financial returns for the army, as the overall wastage levels were greatly reduced compared to the Anglo-Boer War.

As part of the Age of Total War, animal welfare organizations worked closely with the military during the war. Initially, in 1914, the army refused the services of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and other animal welfare organizations, stating that the army had adequate provisions for its animal populations.; however, as the demands on the army increased during the fall of 1914, the Army Council revisited the decision in November, reversing it and allowing the RSPCA to aid the AVC.[372]

As stated in chapter three, the creation of mobile veterinary units was one of the most important policy changes to stem from the Anglo-Boer War. According to L.J. Blenkinsop, the "reasons for the evacuation of sick and wounded animals are the same as those for the evacuation of sick and wounded men; briefly they are: Humanity, Efficiency, Economy. It is essential that fighting formation should not be hindered and impeded by retaining accumulations of sick animals, and it is equally essential that sick animals should receive modern scientific attention so as to ensure that as few as possible are lost".[373] The mobile veterinary sections prevented soldiers from abandoning their disabled animals on the side of roads and in fields across the front-- as had happened in the Anglo-Boer War. They were charged with collecting disabled and ill animals, treating the minor cases, and evacuating more serious cases to evacuation stations on the lines of communications. Many of the mobile units employed both horse-powered and motorized horse ambulances to help evacuate cases in a more timely and effective manner.[374] The mobile units sent serous cases to the evacuating stations, which were located at railroad heads on the lines of communications. Once there, the animals were inspected, organized, and loaded onto special sick

[371] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 142.
[372] RSPCA, *The Animal World: September 1914*, 163)
[373] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 87-88.
[374] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 15-17.

horse trains to be relocated to the veterinary hospitals further back from the battlefields.[375] To aid in the evacuation of wounded and ill war horses, the British Expeditionary Force possessed 26 motorized horse ambulances and countless more horse-drawn ones, all provided by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA). They were designed to hold two animals at a time for evacuation. In some cases, particularly in Flanders, the AVC used barges on canals to evacuate injured and sick horses from the front. The AVC's fleet of barges could contain up to 32 animals at a time and were pulled by steamboats.[376]

The veterinary hospitals were divided into three types: the reception hospitals where animals were admitted, the mange hospital, and the general treatment hospital. Each of the three hospitals was further divided into subcategories based on illness, debility, or treatment options.[377] A newsreel produced in the spring of 1916 by the RSPCA gives the audience a visual record of the equipment, environment, and procedures used by the British army in France. The film shows horses receiving first aid before being transferred by rail to the veterinary hospital, the use of horse ambulances by the Corps, the barracks-like row of stables for the patients, the use of chloroform for operations, the operating theatre at the veterinary hospital, the cleaning of shrapnel wounds, the feeding and watering duties of the men at the hospital, the exercising of "convalescent horses" in divided corrals for both active and underactive animals, and the returning of animals to the Remount department for reintegration into the army.[378] Once treatment was complete, some animals were transferred to the convalescence hospital, to rest and recuperation before returning to active duty.[379]

Advances in animal care resulted from important procedural changes, such as the incorporation of germ theory with its higher standards of medical hygiene and the establishment

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[375] Ibid., 18-19.
[376] Ibid., 19.
[377] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 570-74.
[378] British Topical Committee for War Films, *The Work of the Army Veterinary Corps: and How It is Helped by the RSPCA, Official Pictures of the British army in France – Fifth Series* (Neuchâtel, France: Spring 1916, Imperial War Museum Film Archive), Imperial War Museums 114.
[379] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 98-99.

of surgical operations onsite rather than hundreds of miles away from the battlefield, the increased purchase and employment of horse ambulances (both motorized and non-motorized), the use of the RSPCA humane cattle killer for the humane destruction of animals, and the creation of training programs for both veterinary officers, staff, and soldiers in horse care and management, led to the reduction in wastage rates within the British army.[380] Due to these changes and many others, Blenkinsop estimated the average expenditure for one veterinary hospital to be £146 13s 3d daily, £4,546 10s 9d monthly. The average daily number of horses treated was 780, and the average cost per horse per day of £0 3s 9d.[381] Hyland estimates that the cost to operate a veterinary hospital during the Anglo-Boer War as £730,000 per hospital during the 4 years of the war, or at most £7.3 million for all of the veterinary services in the war, which was much less that the £20-25 million the army spent on equines in the Anglo-Boer War due to short sidedness, ignorance, and mismanagement.[382]

The majority of cases for the AVC officers and staff were one of two in nature: disease or "debility." Debility represented the largest number of cases on any front: the animal was declared lame due to exhaustion, starvation, exposure, gas, nails, sprains, strains, and age. Disease was also common on the front, and included mange, influenza, pneumonia, sand colic, and glanders. Battle wounds from bullets, bombs, and shrapnel were less common than lameness and disease, but still accounted for a large number of casualties.[383] Blenkinsop listed the chief reasons for mortality of British war horses as: battle casualties, debility and exhaustion, respiratory diseases, mud-borne diseases, trypanosomisasis, glanders, and intestinal diseases.[384]

Exhaustion or debility was caused by hard labor, rations shortages, and environmental conditions.[385] After machine guns, barbed wire was the biggest threat to the cavalry horse; no

[380] Ibid., 56-60, 508-594.
[381] Ibid., 561.
[382] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 49.
[383] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 52-76.
[384] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 513.
[385] Moore, *Our Servant the Horse*, 11.

man's land contained both high and low strung wires to impede horses from jumping as well as causing them to trip on charges.[386] Blindness caused by bullets, munitions, disease, the environment, and gas.[387] In fact, however, accidental injuries were much common than battle injuries. Horses were more likely to suffer from "kicks, contusions, fractures, sprains, rope-galls, saddle-galls, harness-galls, and lameness from various causes." These injuries were viewed as mostly preventable though vigilance and education.[388] Blenkinsop wrote that the largest number of debility and exhaustion cases came in the first part of 1917 from "a temporary reduced forage ration; a cold winter and a colder spring; much rain and main; clipped horses; and arduous offensive operations." Due to the rain, much of the forage spoiled and animals were clipped after November 15 to prevent mange, but this only exacerbated the environmental effects.[389]

A surprisingly frequent cause of debility was the phenomenon of "picked-up-nails." As wood became scarce during the winter of 1915-1916, soldiers burned all forms of scavenged wood, including fences and buildings. This wood almost always contained nails, which were then left throughout camps and on lines of communications, causing foot disabilities.[390] Moore estimated that nails caused close to 400 equine casualties a week on the Western Front. The army employed various methods to prevent nail injuries including posting signs, creating "witty" notice signs, creating nail collection boxes, and organizing "nail hunts" for sport.[391] The army also experimented with the use of metal plates over the horses' frogs and even the "use of electro-magnetic machines towed behind motor lorries."[392]

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[386] George Hofmann, *Through Mobility We Conquer: The Mechanization of U.S. Cavalry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2006), 62.
[387] Moore, *Our Servant the Horse*, 16.
[388] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 68.
[389] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 513-15.
[390] Moore, *Our Servant the Horse*, 14.
[391] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 70-71.
[392] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 540-41.

Figure 4.G[393]

In Figure 4.G, we can see a sign denoting the hazard of nails to horses. The sign reads; "Kindness to animals. 500 horses lamed weekly by nails dropped on roads and horse lines by cookers carrying firewood with nails left in. Please remove nails."[394]

To beat the mange, personnel built a long, narrow trench and filled it with hot water and calcium sulphide and then made the animals swim through the bath to cure the disease.[395] The composition of this photograph appears to be very posed and artificial, despite the importance of the sign's text. On one hand, one can see a soldier (perhaps a staff sergeant based on his arm insignia) gazing at the nail sign, which was hung on a tree near camp. The sign was most likely posed near a road, as it is a distance from the tent in the background and there is a large pile of fresh dirt around the base of the tree. It is important to note that the sign may have just been displayed due to the onset of winter and the increased use of firewood because of the colder weather; this might explain the unusual position of the images as well as the fact that the

[393] "Kindness to Animals." National Library of Scotland. As seen in Butler, *The War Horses*, 124.
[394] Ibid.
[395] H. Kirk, Major, *Private papers of Major H. Kirk*. (1914-1945, Imperial War Museum), 76-77.

photograph was even taken at all given the relatively mundane nature of the subject matter. What one can glean from this image is the importance of education and waste management in the army, which would play an indirect role in the move toward veteranization for the war horses.

Figure 4.H[396]

Figure 4.H shows the AVC cleansing a war horse in a sulfur bath to treat mange; mange if left untreated could lead to severe pain and eventual lameness in war horses. Hence, the baths played a role in combating the spread of this highly contagious disease.[397]

Horses, like men, showed signs of shell-shock after the war; Ernest Baynes noted that there was never a horse that "could carry on in endless quagmires and remain the horse he had been."[398] Baynes goes on to note that "It is one thing seeing a horse or mule at the front – or shall I say, just at the back of the front? – in the bloom of good health, and quite another seeing him away down the Lines of Communication in the horse hospitals after he has "cracked up" on active

[396] RSPCA, *The Animal World: August 1917*, NA.
[397] Ibid.
[398] Baynes, *Animal Heroes*, 271.

service."[399] One officer writes how his horse suffered from shell shock, as any soldier, "Poor Dollie, it was on that very road that the shell fell that sent me home to 'Blighty.' She evidently remembers it and suffers keenly from shell shock when she goes there."[400] In one passage, Johnston notes that it was not uncommon to encounter shell shocked horses, who jumped and trembled under fire. He states that: "It was pitiful to see him tremble under shellfire. He must have had a hard go of it when he was wounded before. It made it really hard for me, as I had to be on watch all the time I was with them, which was most of the time."[401] Another incident illustrated the bond between a war horse, his officer, and his groom. A horse named Nellie died on the front in Flanders early in the war. The groom who cared for the horse "made a small, wooden marker for her grave. When her master came to look at the place, he saw roughly scratched on the wood, these words, 'Nellie, She died for her country.' Then the officer saluted solemnly, as he stood there by the grave, and his orderly heard him say, "She died, as truly as any soldier."[402] The February 1918 issue of *Animal World* contained an article entitled, "Animal Sufferers from Shell Shock."[403] An officer in the Royal Army Medical Corps wrote the following:

> There is a great difference in the horses as they go in and come out of the lines. Full of fire and beans, conscious of excellent grooming and clean wagons and polished harness, they seem impatient to drag their guns from the comforts of French billets to the unknown discomfort of the line. But when they come out they are plastered with mud and very tired, and show no interest in the gun teams that pass them on their way up. … Well-bred horses – like well-bred, or shall I say highly organized, men – suffer from shell shock more than the low-bred ones. … A gunner told me an interesting story of shell shock in his gun team – how they were sheltering under a wall when a shell exploded among them, but miraculously escaped unharmed. Never again would this gun team approach that wall without shaking and quivering and falling down, or hear the sound of a near approaching shell without showing these same symptoms as a soldier might. These horses had to be evacuated to a veterinary hospital well behind the lines

[399] Galtrey, *The Horse and the War*, 83.
[400] Chester Sanford and Grace Owen, *Other Soldiers: Stories of Sacrifice and Service Rendered by Animals and Children During the World War* (Chicago: Laurel Book Co., 1921), 80-81.
[401] James Johnston, *Riding into War: The Memoir of a Horse Transport Driver, 1916-1919* (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada: New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, 2004), 80.
[402] Sanford, *Other Soldiers*, 78.
[403] RSPCA, *The Animal World: February 1918*, 21.

> and out of the range of shell and bomb till time brought forgetfulness and they could be sent up again. Never will a horse forget any place where previously he had been wounded. When, for instance, he is taking ammunition up to a battery he will shiver and tremble and hurry past at a gallop any exposed spot or dangerous crossroads where, perhaps months before, he stopped a bit of shrapnel. Very quick are they to spot a near approaching shell; and on an exposed road on their way up they duck their heads and drop on their knees, and even lie down, when they see their drivers taking cover to avoid a dangerously close one.[404]

This account closely resembles descriptions of shell-shocked war veterans, adding another layer of emotional connection between soldiers and horses; if war horses can suffer from shell shock just like soldiers, then they must suffer in war like their masters and deserve to be thought of as veterans.

The most important consequence of the increased efficiency of the veterinary services was the humanization of the treatment of animals. The RSPCA noted that the work of the AVC produced a "humanizing element about these hospitals for sick and wounded horses that is bound to react on the men who act as dressers, orderlies, etc."[405] The AVC kept detailed records on the horse casualties entering the hospitals. All vacated animals were "accompanied by an evacuation roll giving a serial number, a short description, the units to which they belonged, and the reason for which evacuated." Upon admission, the patients were labeled with a tag, "white for medical cases, green for surgical, and red for mange or other communicable disease."[406] According to Blenkinsop, "the admissions rolls included information such as: number, class, coloring, sex, height, age, distinguishing markings or brands, foot markings, reasons for evacuation, and unit evacuated from.[407] These were also needed to identify animals while they were being transported from one location to another. Cloth tags were easily damaged, so troops began creating metal tags for their animals, much in the same way that tags were provided to the ranks. In most cases, the metal tags were quickly and cheaply manufactured on the lines and attached to the animal's

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[404] Ibid., 21-22.
[405] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1914* (London: RSPCA, 1915), 220.
[406] Moore, *Army Veterinary Service in War*, 20-21.
[407] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 577.

mane or tail.[408] If tin tags or paper were not available, officers would use chalk on the horse's back as a form of identification. Tags were usually attached to either the mane or the tail.[409]

The AVC also had to deal with the bodies of hundreds of thousands of war horses during the war.

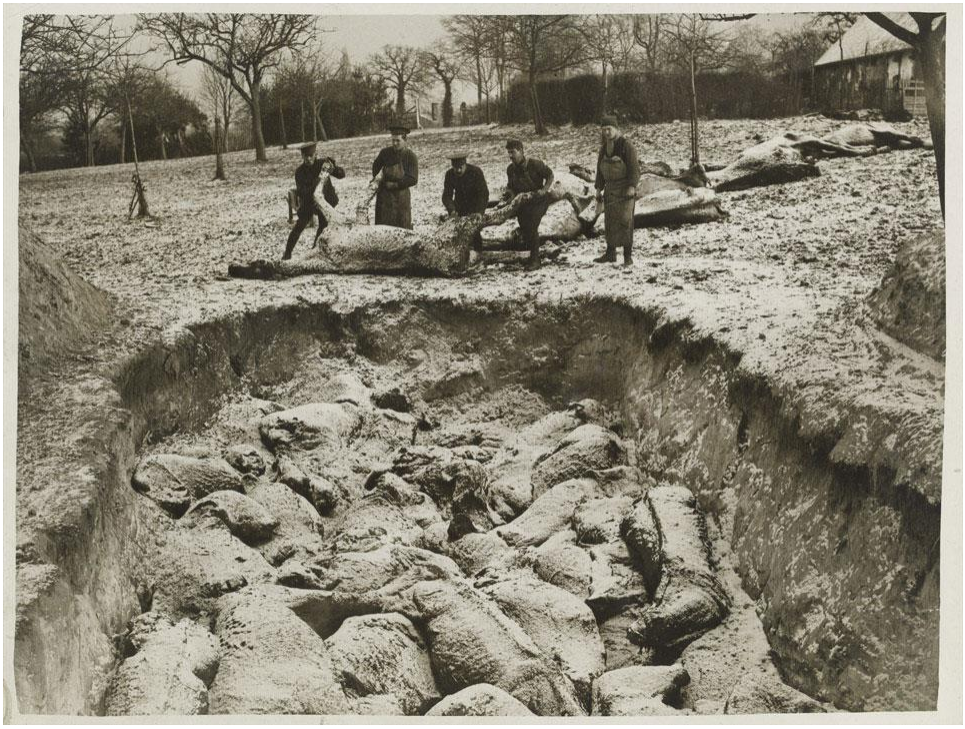

Figure 4.I[410]

In Figure 4.I, soldiers are shown burying destroyed horses in a mass grave; this most likely was taken near a veterinary hospital on the Western Front. The photograph's description states that it was taken in 1916 and involves the "Burying [of] dead war horses on the Continent."[411] The horses are most likely being salted, in an effort to reduce the smell and aid in the decomposition of the bodies. What is unusual about this photograph is that the carcasses are being buried at all. With the establishment of the casting process by the AVC, these animals should have been sent to

[408] French, *Canadian Army Veterinary Corps*, 160.
[409] J.A. Hammerton, ed., *A Popular History of the Great War. Volume VI: Armistice and After* (London: The Fleetway House, 1933), 302-03.
[410] National Army Museum, "Burying of Dead Horses on the Continent," (http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?acc=2007-03-7-144), accessed 28 January 2015.
[411] Ibid.

a local slaughterhouse or an economizer near the veterinary hospital. This leads one to conclude that these animals were either highly contagious or there were transportation issues that made casting unfeasible. The sight of so many dead war horses left they marks on the soldiers' psyche, leading them to contemplate the treatment of war horses as well as their sacrifice and rewards after service.

Components of Bonding

Rimington had advocated bonding (after the debacle of the Anglo-Boer War) as a way to improve wastage levels in the military. He stated that the British training system needed to be changed in such a way as to teach the recruit "to love his horse and regard him as his best friends."[412] The military discovered that men did not bond with their mounts if they did not routinely ride or routinely care for the same mount. However, when soldiers were assigned the same animals they came to regard them as an extension of themselves though their common hardships in training and war.[413] And Dr. E.R. Reader, a member of the AVC, wrote that "our daily lives were closely woven around our horses. It is no exaggeration to say that at times our very lives depended on the close understanding we had with our long faced friends. As was the army way, we continually cursed them … but there was no venom behind our words, and somehow I believe it was comforting to them as it showed we cared. As far as I was concerned, for the most of the time that I was in France I was entirely absorbed with my mount. She was the biggest factor in my life ranking far more in my thoughts than any aspect of the War. So if I am at times inclined to talk of horses instead of shells, it is because that was how my priorities stood."[414]

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[412] Rimington, *Horse in Recent War*, 13.
[413] Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 229-33.
[414] E.R. Reader, "The Three Horses of Autolycus: France, 1915-1917." *Private Papers of Dr. E.R. Reader* (1973, Imperial War Museum), 59-61.

Compared to previous conflicts where soldiers rarely rode the same horse consecutively, men in the Great War were expected to "ride and tend the same horse for months on end, sleeping in the open only a few yards behind the picket lines at night, and suffering the same privations." This change in policy led to a change in attitude as "the soldier came to regard his horse as almost an extension of his own being."[415] In the Middle-Eastern campaigns, it was not uncommon for soldiers to have only one horse during the entire of the war, with that animal being a personal mount from home.[416] It was not an odd occurrence for the horses to be issued and to wear their own gas masks after the advent of gas warfare in 1915.[417] One British Trumpeter even taught his horse to feign lameness to keep other officers from commandeering his favorite mount, as officers were allowed to take animals from lower ranks if the animal took their fancy.[418] There is even an extreme example of personal bonding in which Brigadier General Royston routinely gave his charger a drink of tea from his own mug while on encamped. The horse is shown in a photograph sitting down in front of Royston's table and chair in the desert.[419]

Soldiers were heavily encouraged by the military and animal welfare organizations to name their animals, as it helped in the bonding process and contributed to the better care of the animals over time. In a handbook published by the Blue Cross Fund, the organization tells soldiers, "isn't it nicer to say "Hold up 'Punch'" than to say "Hold up '662'?" as horses were normally issued to soldiers with numerical designations rather than names.[420] In the divisional horse show programs, horses were given such names as The Poet, Chameleon, Soots, Minnie, Peggy, Coal Box, Jerry, Nameless, Queenie, Wait and See, Tommy, Sandbag, Nigger, Ginger,

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[415] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 128-129.
[416] Kinloch, *Devils on Horses*, 339.
[417] Max Arthur, ed., *Forgotten Voices of the Great War: A History of World War I in the Words of the Men and Women Who were There* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2004), 292.
[418] E.R. Reader, "The Three Horses of Autolycus: France, 1915-1917." Private Papers of Dr. E.R. Reader. 1973, 126-130.
[419] Mitchell, *Light Horse*, 52-53.
[420] Blue Cross, *The Drivers', Gunners' and Mounted Soldiers' Handbook, etc., to Management and Care of Horses and Harness. By Two Officers (R.F.A. and A. V.C.)* (2nd ed. London: Blue Cross Fund, 1915-1917), 15.

Trombone, Metz, Persimmon, Charlie Chaplin, and Hoodini.[421] Captain S.H. Williams mused that "Horses are very much like humans and there are very few of them that are perfect, either in manners or in conformation" and that they deserve names just like any other pet.[422] Although purchased around the globe, horses and mules regularly were both officially and unofficially conferred with British nationality by troops, making the animals a further part of the emotional fabric of the unit.[423]

Horse deaths deeply affected the morale of soldiers in the battle lines. Hugh Boustead, a young South African officer, characterized the daily horror of the Western Front, writing, "Dead and dying horses, split by shellfire with bursting entrails and torn limbs, lay astride the road that led to battle. Their fallen riders stared into the weeping skies." He continues, stating that both men and horses were "literally swept" from the road.[424] In *The Great War and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century*, Jay Winter notes that the suffering of animals in the war was "a mundane reality", yet he goes on to write that, "the sufferings of animals paralleled the sufferings of men, a fact millions of soldiers never forgot." In Figure 4.J, one sees an example of the daily occurrence of animal suffering in the war.[425] Here one can see the bombed carcass of a war horse hanging within a tree. It is important to note that images such as this one were common on the Western Front. The photograph implies a very large explosion had thrown the horse's body into the branches, where it was left to rot. This daily imagery along with the horrors of the trenches turned men toward associations of home and creature comforts such as companion animals.

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[421] 20th (Light) Division, *Division Horse Show*, 3-6.
[422] S.H. Williams, Captain, *Stand By Your Horses: Through the First World War 1914-1918 with Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians)* (Winnipeg: D.W. Frisen and Sons, 1961), 9.
[423] Baynes, *Animal Heroes*, 293.
[424] Gilbert, *The Somme*, 93-94.
[425] Jay Winter and Blaine Baggett, *The Great War and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1996), 100-101.

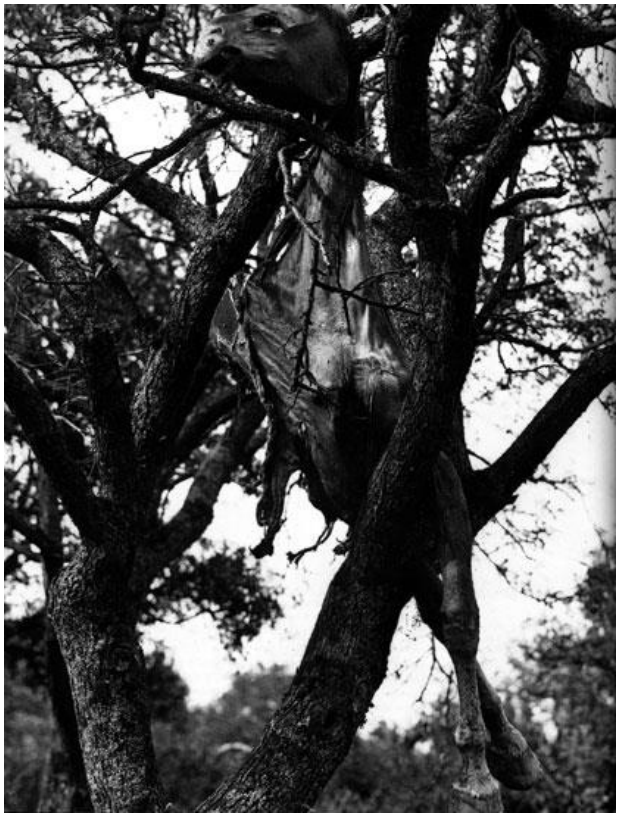

Figure 4.J[426]

In his work, Modris Eksteins discusses the idea that the experiences of the First World War isolated veterans from the general public and solidified a universal bond between the veterans. One wonders if this could be applied to the unusual bond that arose during the First World War between soldiers and their equine charges. Could the isolation created by modern, total war act as a catalyst to deeper social bonding between humans and animals, leading to the first steps of veteranization?[427] Joanna Bourke, as quoted by Hilda Kean, has argued that "in the absence of female companionship men bonded together, engaging in intimate and emotional friendships." Hilda Kean takes this notion a step further and states that war animals "assisted in providing outlets for a warmth of emotion otherwise frowned upon."[428] Private Thomas Hope of the 1/5th King's Liverpool Regiment wrote that "I have long since become accustomed to

[426] Ibid., 101.
[427] Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, 229-33.
[428] Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), 173.

wounded humanity. Their plight evokes pity and the desire to help, but a wounded animal leaves me with a feeling of loathing, loathing towards myself and the civilised humanity which I represent. Too often have I seen reproach in the eyes of a dying horse, and outraged frailty in the flutterings of a wounded carrier pigeon. We may understand; they never can."[429] Some soldiers questioned whether the employment of animals in modern warfare was justified at all. Second Lieutenant Arnold Gyde wrote the following:

> Men came to the war with few illusions and a very complete knowledge of the price to be paid. They knew why they were there, what they were doing, and what they might expect. … Above all, they had a Cause, something to fight for, and if Fate should so decree, something to die for. But these horses were different: they could neither know nor understand these things. Poor, dumb animals, a few weeks ago they had been drawing their carts, eating their oats, and grazing contentedly in their fields. And then suddenly they were seized by masters they did not know, raced away to places foreign to them, made to draw loads too great for them, tended irregularly, or not at all, and when their strength failed, and they could no longer do their work, a bullet through the brain ended their misery! Their lot was almost worse than the soldiers![430]

The bond between horse and rider was rarely one-sided. A gunner from the Royal Artillery was forced to abandon his wrecked gun along with his horses. He stated that "his agony was fearful" at the order to move on without his charges. Another officer freed the struggling animals, allowing them to gallop after their "owner." The artillery horses "followed him for four days. They kept their places unhitched in the line and went along as orderly as if the gunner had been driving them."[431] During the retreat in May 1918, an ex-troop sergeant of the 19 Hussars wrote "I was riding with the Squadron rearguard when one of the troop horses was badly hit by machine gun fire. Horse and rider crashed down in front of me. The horse lay on its side and the trooper, unhurt, had rolled clear. Kicking one foot out of the stirrup, I ordered the trooper to mount behind me. Instead, he crawled towards his horse which had raised its head and was looking at him. He reached the horse, gently lifted its head on to his knee, and stayed put. I

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[429] Richard Van Emden, *Tommy's Ark: Soldiers and Their Animals in the Great War* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), 240-241.
[430] Ibid., 35-36.
[431] Sanford, *Other Soldiers*, 83-84.

again ordered him to mount, and drew my pistol, saying I would shoot the animal. He said nothing; just looked up at me, then down to the horse, and continued to stroke its head. From the look in the horse's eyes, I think it knew it was the end, and I also think it understood its master was trying to give it what comfort he could. I didn't shoot. Bullets were still smacking around and the squadron was almost out of sight. I said something to the effect 'Well, it's your funeral' and trotted on to rejoin my place. The trooper caught up with the squadron later: he had stayed with his horse till it died. By all the laws of averages, he should have stopped one too."[432]

Soldiers applauded the acts of other soldiers who showed compassion toward their horses. Lieutenant Andrew McCormick of the 182nd Labour Corps wrote, "I recall one of the things which pleased and cheered me most of anything I saw during the war. I happened to be on a railhead one day when wounded horses from the line were being entrained. I saw a man leading along a horse that was severely wounded in several places. He could not have shown more consideration for a human being than he did for that horse. After every few paces he succeeded in coaxing the animal along, he placed his shoulder under the animal's jaw and allowed it to rest its head there. I was so much struck by that soldier's humane conduct that I went forward to him and said, 'Your kindly treatment of these animals is most praiseworthy and I have seen nothing finer in the war.' He seemed pleased but excused himself for his tender heartedness by saying, 'Well, sir, how would you feel if you was both deaf and dumb and could not make known the pain you feel?'"[433] Many soldiers treated wounded horses as if they were wound comrades, providing both tenderness and kindness to the suffering animals.

The war produced many literary and visual images of bonding between soldiers and their charges. In a training manual on horse care for officers, the poem entitled, "The Horse's Prayer," appears and is an expression of the horse's dependence on its human partner and the bond that develops between a soldier and his mount in war:

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[432] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 129-30.
[433] Van Emden, *Tommy's Ark*, 243-244.

> To Thee, My Master, I offer my prayer: Feed me, water and care for me, and, when the day's work is done, provide me with shelter, a clean, dry bed and a stall wide enough for me to lie down in comfort.
>
> Always be kind to me. Talk to me. Your voice often means as much to me as the reins. Pet me sometimes, that I may serve you the more gladly and learn to love you. Do not jerk the reins, and do not whip me when going up hill. Never strike, beat or kick me when I do not understand what you want, but give me a chance to understand you. Watch me, and if I fail to do your bidding, see if something is not wrong with my harness or feet.
>
> Do not check me so that I cannot have the free use of my head. If you insist that I wear blinkers, so that I cannot see behind me as it was intended I should, I pray you be careful that the blinkers stand well out from me eyes.
>
> Do not overload me, or hitch me where water will drip on me. Keep me well shod. Examine my teeth when I do not eat, I may have an ulcerated gum or decayed tooth, and that, you know, is very painful. Do not tie my head in an unnatural position, or take away my best defence against flies and mosquitoes by cutting off my tail.
>
> I cannot tell you when I am thirsty, so give me clean cool water often. Save me, by all means in your power, from that fatal disease - the glanders. I cannot tell you in words when I am sick, so watch me, that by signs you may know my condition. Give me all possible shelter from the hot sun, and put a blanket on me, not when I am working but when I am standing in the cold. Never put a frosty bit in my mouth; first warm it by holding it a moment in your hands.
>
> I try to carry you and your burdens without a murmur, and wait for you long hours of the day or night. Without the power to choose may shoes or path, I sometimes fall on the hard pavements which I have often prayed might not be of wood but of such a nature as to give me a safe and sure footing. Remember that I must be ready at any moment to lose my life in your service.
>
> And finally, O My Master, when my useful strength is gone, do not turn me out to starve or freeze, or sell me to a cruel owner, to be slowly tortured and starved to death; but do Thou, My Master, take my life in the kindest way, and your God will reward you here and hereafter. You will not consider me irreverent if I ask this in the name of Him who was born in a Stable. Amen.[434]

It was also common for visual images to appear in magazines, newspapers, in pamphlets, on posters, and as wartime souvenirs such as Charles Howard's "Pals."[435]

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[434] R.T. Day, 2nd Lieutenant, *The Mounted Officer's Book on Horses and Mules for Transport: the care of the horse and the mule and how the harness should fit: for the guidance of officers in training for transport officers and horsemanship* (London: Ernest J. Day & Co., 1916), 43-44.
[435] Allen, *Animals at War*, 8.

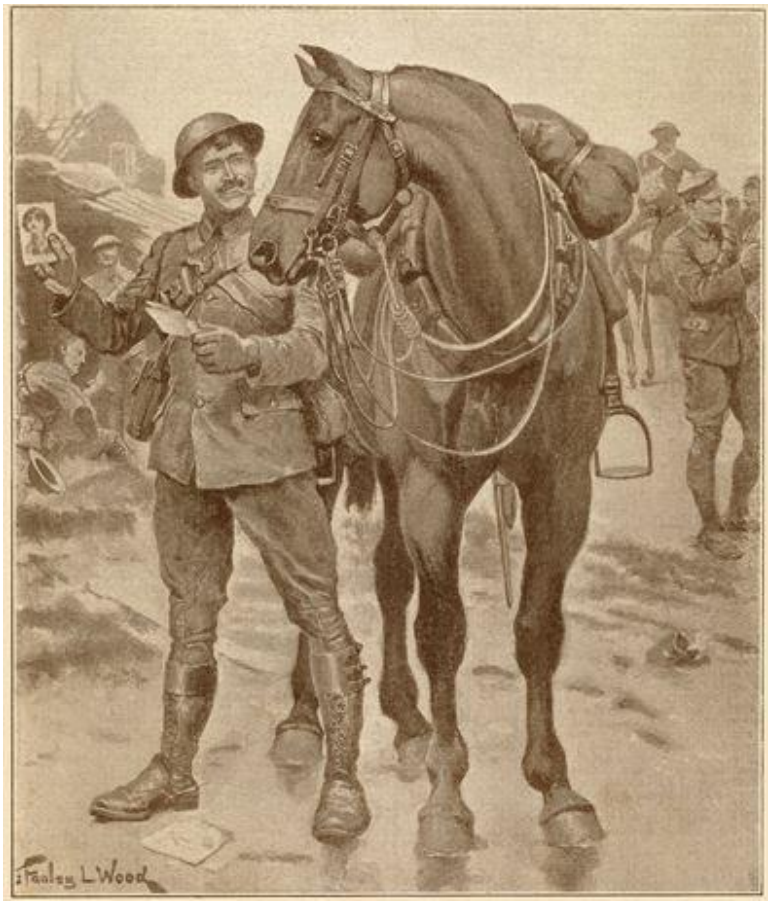

Figure 4.K[436]

In a *War Illustrated* of 1917, Figure 4.K portrayed the war horse as a fellow combatant: "A gallant trooper, gladdened by the picture of 'the dearest girl in the world' just received from home, shows it to his next best pal, who looks at it with sympathetic approval in his intelligent eyes."[437] The war animal, a cavalry horse, is depicted in its "uniform' standing with its soldier. The soldier is smiling while smoking a cigarette and showing his comrade a photograph of the soldier's sweetheart, much like soldiers showed other soldiers in their unit. The image shows the soldier and his companion in the middle of a camp, most likely after mail call. The background illustrates daily life in the camp and gives the viewer the impression that this type of activity was commonplace at the front and not a moment of sentimentality, though these postcards were

[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.,10.

mainly for soldiers and the public to purchase and return to loved ones. Like "Pals," Mack's "Comrades" was also printed and sold as postcards to soldiers and civilians during the war.[438] The image focuses on the war horse as a soldier's companion. "Comrades" shows a soldier gently holding his horse's head in a loving way, implying a kinship between them. These types of images focused on the softer side of the war, not the glory and sacrifice of duty.

Figure 4.L[439]

Sidney Galtrey wrote that "The people only learn when failures are exposed and things are revealed. Our war-horses and mules have been bought, literally, by the million, and the taxpayer has contributed, and will contribute, to the many millions they have cost the State" and, yet, because they have fewer "agents of propaganda, "the silent, plodding, uncomplaining horse

[438] Ibid., 11.
[439] Ibid., 11.

or mule, each bearing the brand of national ownership, have never yet failed, and so they have never been heard of outside the Armies." According to Galtrey, war horses and mules deserve a "little gratitude for the debt, ever mounting higher and higher, [that] we may never pay, simply because we may never realize how great it is."[440]

John Moore, a senior member of the AVC, also lamented the unjust remembrance of the British war horses stating that "it seems strange that in this country where animals under domestication are held in such affectionate esteem, and where their value is so highly appraised in commercial life and for our pleasures there should not have been some thoughtful recognition of the great services rendered by them during the late war, of the hardships they endured, of the sacrifices they made, and of the share which is due to them in victory."[441] Private Christopher Massie, likened the war horse to fellow soldiers, calling for their humane treatment after the war because of their service in the military and the State:

> The warhorse is honest, reliable, strong. He is a soldier. And I have written this eulogy of his merits as one soldier might write of another. I want someone to take his case up and see that he falls 'cushy' after the war. It is only fair. He is a mate of ours- one of us. A Tommy. Don't ring a lot of bells and forget him. A field of clover, a bundle of hay, a Sussex meadow, a bushel of apples, a loaf of bread, a sack of carrots, sunshine and blue hills, clean stables, and trusses of straw, may they all be his, for he has earned them! It is only fair.[442]

The end of the Great War did not halt the conversation on bonding and veteran status. The casting and memorialization of war horses are the Armistice only added to the debate over the place of war horses in the military and in society.

[440] Galtrey, *The Horse and the War*, 13-14.
[441] Moore, *Our Servant the Horse*, 29.
[442] Ibid., 301.

CHAPTER V

THE EFFECTS OF THE CASTING AND THE MEMORIALIZATION OF HORSES ON SOLDIER BONDING AND VETERANIZATION, 1919-1945

The final task for the Army Veterinary Corps was the creation of a large scale casting system. After the armistice, the British army set about dealing with the repatriation and casting of its horse population in all theaters. Sidney Galtrey noted that "all my experience goes to show that judicious casting of army horses is most essential in the interests of financial economy and general efficiency."[443] The military saw the casting process as an opportunity to recuperate a portion of its horse expenditures, rather than consider the sentiments of soldiers or the welfare of the mounts. John Moore also stated that the "Army Veterinary Service was one of the few Services that during the war helped to pay for itself" because of its work and the casting process.[444] In total, war equines liquidated by the army yielded a return of £7,639,560, a small fraction of the £67 million spent over the course of the war in purchases alone.[445] A total of 529,564 equines were casted from 1914 to 1919 in all British-fighting theaters of the war.[446] Casting became one of the most influential events after the war to transform the status of war horses for many British soldiers.

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[443] Sidney Galtrey, Captain, *The Horse and the War* (London: "Country Life," 1918), 120.
[444] John Moore, Major-General, *Our Servant the Horse: An Appreciation of the Part Played by Animals during the War, 1914-1918* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1934), 26-28.
[445] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War, 1914-1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), 866.
[446] Ibid., 861.

The Mechanics of Casting

It was the AVC's job, particularly after the war, to evaluate the surplus equine population of the British military and determine the fate of the animals. In coordination with the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, the British War Office designated four possible uses for the surplus equine populations in Europe, in the Middle East, and in Africa. An animal, after evaluation, would be either repatriated to Great Britain for sale to civilians, sold to the local population for labor, sold to the local population for human consumption, or sold for animal by-products. The AVC, at the behest of the War Office, established four categories for equines based on both the animal's age and soundness. Category A contained sound animals between the ages of five and eight which would either be repatriated or sold to locals for labor; category B contained sound animals between eight and twelve which would either be repatriated or sold to locals for labor; category C contained sound animals over the age of twelve that would be sold to locals for labor; and category D was reserved for unsound animals of all ages.[447] In the 1870s and 1880s, the cast age for military horses was fixed at seventeen, though it was not uncommon for animals to work well into their twenties. We can compare this to the casting age of twelve in World War I; it is assumed that the work was harder and more exhausting than during the colonial wars, thus the reduced casting age.[448] The AVC reduced the British war horse population from 326,286 at the beginning of February 1919 to 20,004 on the Western Front alone. In the appendix, Table 5.A provides a more comprehensive chart of the reduction of war horses on the Western Front while Tables 5.B and 5.C cover in greater detail the breakdown of the number of war horses casted

[447] Ibid., 865-866.
[448] Underwood, Lieutenant-Colonel, *The British War Horse: Shewing How the Breed can be Improved, the Numbers increased so as to Become Adequate to the Country's Needs, the Cost Lessened, the breeder Encouraged without any Extra Charge on the State* (London: Gale & Polden, 1891-93), 5.

during and after the war as well as the moneys raised from these sales and the average price of each animal.[449]

Casting parades were a weekly occurrence. These parades allowed the officers to inspect the earmarked animals, categorize them for the different levels of casting, and enable staff to brand the animals to denote their casting for labor sale or casting for butchery purposes and the hospital they had been cast from. For example, a horse cast for labor purposes would possess a brand similar to this 

,while a horse cast for butchery purposes might possess a brand similar to this one "22B."[450] On the subject of casting for carcasses, Tony Allen notes that "The poor old horse - in death as in life he was still a valuable asset to the army."[451] If animals were classified for destruction once at the hospital, they would be labeled for burial or for butchery. The first group were immediately destroyed and taken to the burial grounds, while the second group was transported by ambulance and railway to the nearest abattoir for processing into meat or by-products.[452]

Blenkinsop estimated that the army could obtain about 600 pounds of sellable meat from a casted draught horse, 430 pounds from a cavalry horse, and 430 pounds from a mule.[453] While an animal carcass produced, on average, one hundredweight (cwt[454]) of dried flesh, three gallons of grease, one hundredweight of bones and hooves, and a half a pound of hair.[455] The average economizer plant could deal with about thirty animals a day.[456] It took approximately sixteen hours to economize a carcass: seven to steam, seven to dry, and two to clean.[457] Many times,

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[449] Moore, *Our Servant the Horse*, 26-28.
[450] L.J. Blenkinsop, Major-General and Lieutenant-Colonel J.W. Rainey, *History of the Great War based on Official Documents: Veterinary Services* (London: HMSO, 1925), 565.
[451] Allen, Tony. *Animals at War, 1914-1918*. First World War Topics, No. 7. York: Holgate, 1999, 17)
[452] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services,* 565.
[453] Ibid. 250.
[454] A hundredweight is the equivalent of 112 pounds.
[455] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services,* 686.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid., 83.

prisoners of war aided the AVC in the processing of animals for by-products.[458] The AVC processed 36,877 animals between 1916 and 1919. The army processed the fats for soap, the hooves were shipped to Paris, the bones were boiled and sent to London for further processing, the manes and tails were used for packaging material, and the blood was used in the manufacturing of "stickit" for airplane wings.[459]

As early as 1915, it was anticipated that the army would possess an enormous surplus of military horses. The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries wrote the War Office to start the future process of repatriation, especially for mares suitable for both breeding and civilian purposes. The Board saw this as a very pressing home front matter.[460] The Army Council assumed the conclusion of the war would create a massive surplus in horses for civilian use. The Army Council estimated there would be at least 500,000 horses and mules to cast and sell, and the Council began collaboration early on with the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to create a plan for post-war redistribution and disposal.[461] After the Armistice, the Railway Executive Committee and the War Office established a distribution scheme for the repatriated army horses. The War Office stated it intended to ship 125,000 horses from France for immediate sale in Great Britain, but did not ultimately ship that many. The railway was to be used to convey animals from the quarantine stations around the county, where they would be kept for 2 weeks, before moved to sale-yards.[462] The government set down the following conditions for all equines returning to Britain after the Armistice: "Only army animals in France and Belgium to be returned to the United Kingdom, animals to be held in quarantine in the United Kingdom for at least fourteen days under close clinical observation before being offered for sale to the public, and

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[458] John Moore, Major-General, *Army Veterinary Service in War* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1921), 172-73.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to Consider and Advise What Steps Should be Taken in England and Wales to Secure an Adequate Supply of Horses Suitable for Military Purposes* (London: HMSO, 1915), 12-13.
[461] Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture to the War Office. 27 April, 1915, 1.
[462] Edwin Pratt, *British Railways and the Great War: Organisation, Efforts, Difficulties and Achievements* (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1921), 189-190.

the mallein test (a test for glanders in horses) to be applied at least twice to all animals before final disposal." Quarantine stations were established at many of the major ports in Britain to house the incoming equines with the help of the RSPCA and the Blue Cross Fund.[463] The Veterinary Corps repatriated approximately 95,000 animals, mainly from the Western Front.[464] Britain also relocated large numbers of horses to Indian Territorial Forces and to the Army of Occupation in Germany. Some 84,000 animals were sent after the war to Germany alone.[465]

The British army gave two reasons for the massive selling off of the horses in the Middle East: quarantine laws throughout the Empire and the cost of shipping.[466] In February 1919, the British army sent word to the Middle Eastern troops that all animals over the age of eight would be destroyed while the rest were to be casted to locals. The reasons given were the costs of shipping and extensive quarantine regulations. After a near riot over the orders, the army agreed to send the fittest mounts to British cavalry remount detachments. Many soldiers preferred to destroy their animals rather than hand them over to be casted. There is an instance where an Australian mounted division held a special race day before feeding their mounts one last time and then destroying the horses en mass.[467] Hyland estimates that approximately 20,000 war horses were sold in Egypt after the Armistice, saying that the "government wanted its pound of flesh."[468]

The Effects of Casting on Bonding After the Armistice

Some officers and soldiers illegally shot their mounts in the desert rather than hand them over to the Remount Department. In Figure 5.A, we see an example of the slaughter of war

[463] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 545-46.
[464] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort*, 396.
[465] Ann Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era: The Boer War to the Beginning of the Second Millennium* (Stockton-on-Tees, UK: Black Tent Publications, 2010), 87.
[466] Terry Kinloch, *Devils on Horses: In the Words of the ANZACS in the Middle East, 1916-1918* (Auckland, NZ: Exisle Publishing, 2007), 336.
[467] Louis DiMarco, *War Horse: A History of the Military Horse and Rider* (Yardley: Westholme, 2008), 322-323.
[468] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 150-51.

horses, particularly in the Middle East after the Armistice. The photograph shows a long line of destroyed cavalry horses in the desert with a small band of soldiers standing near and kneeling over the bodies in the foreground, gazing at the aftermath. The kneeling soldiers appear to be stripping the horses of their gear or hair, but it is difficult to tell for sure. There may also be smoke in the background, presumably to burn the bodies.

Figure 5.A[469]

Many soldiers preferred to destroy their mounts rather than sell them to the locals.[470] When the horses, including Walers, originally landed in the Middle East, they were branded with an "X", making it easy to identify them during and after the Armistice, but of those animals that arrived at the start of the war, many survived only to be casted afterwards.[471] The horses were also an issue of "national pride" for their territorial riders, and many of the exports came as personal mounts of soldiers. It has been theorized that because many of the horses were personal mounts and because the Australian troops in the Middle East were so isolated from their homeland that a

[469] Kinloch, *Devils on Horses*, 336.
[470] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 150-51.
[471] P.V. Vernon, *The Royal New South Wales Lancers, 1885-1985: Incorporating a Narrative of the 1st Light Horse Regiment, A.I.F. 1914-1919* (Parramatta, NSW: Macarthur Press, 1986), 90.

greater probability of pair-bonding occurred as many soldiers began to view the Walers as physical representations of home.[472] In the Middle East and in Egypt, only a few of the personal officer mounts were repatriated; but most war horses were left behind. Hyland believes that only six horses were shipped from Egypt and the Middle East, and all of them were officer chargers.[473]

The casting of a beloved horse was difficult for many soldiers. The casting process, which occurred routinely during the war, but intensified in the immediate postwar peace, involved the separation of soldier and horse for the purpose of decommissioning the animals for resale. Many soldiers became distraught over the casting of their animals. Fred Sterling, a trooper in the Middle East, reported in 1919 that "the day has come. I lose my horse tonight at 12 midnight. He goes to Moascar [Camp] into a general remount depot. [He is] the only thing in this land [that] I am truly sorry to leave. My very best friend in this land he has been. He left me fat and in excellent spirits. May he strike a soft job or die soon, for I love him very much."[474] The casting of horses in the Middle East, in particular, had a profound effect on the men involved and many soldiers preferred to destroy their animals rather than have them casted; one soldier, Ted Andrews, writes that it was the

> Saddest day of the war… Each man had to hold two horses, and it was the most sickening job I had during the war. … It seemed awfully sad that these poor old faithful creatures, after suffering from thirst, hunger and fatigue and carrying heavy loads for hundreds of miles, should have to end their days by being shot down by the very people they had so faithfully served. Thank God they had not the intelligence to realize what seemed like man's ingratitude. Some of the poor old beggars had landed here with the Main Body, and if there is a Heaven for animals, they have earned their place in it! … Better dead than to lead a life of misery at the hands of some gharry [carriage] driver in Cairo, or to be thrashed, starved, and worked to death. But how nice it would have been to able to turn them all out on some boundless prairie to live out their lives in peace and comfort… Of course one has to harden one's heart to these sorts of things in warfare, but, I can tell you, it made some of us very miserable for some time afterwards, the memory of those lines of bodies lying stark in the desert, faithful unto death.[475]

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[472] DiMarco, *War Horse*, 322-323.
[473] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 150-51.
[474] Kinloch, *Devils on Horses*, 339.
[475] Kinloch, *Devils on Horses*, 337-38.

Galtrey called the casted horses the "outcasts of the Army" and described how passersby would stop at the sight of these broken animals. "For one thing the pace is funereal, which is suggested by the slow march and the drooping heads. You may not hurry the lame, the halt, the blind, to which may be added the broken-winded; and so the pace of this little procession with its suggestion of real pathos is that of its slowest unit."[476] The bonds created between soldier and horse made the postwar casting process especially difficult for many individuals. Trooper Clouting commented on the fate of his favorite horse, Nancy. He wrote that "She was killed at the end of the war when a shell burst almost underneath her, but, though it seems hard, I was glad. So many of the regiment's horses were handed over to local farmers at the end of the war, and there was no knowing what might have happened to her."[477] Nowhere was the hatred of casting more evident than on the Middle-Eastern and Egyptian fronts. Many of the animals assigned to the Australian troops were personal horses of the soldiers, who were enlisted along with their masters. When the orders came down that all of the horses were to be casted off due to the threat of exotic disease and enormous shipping costs, a large number of soldiers chose to shoot their mounts rather than allow them to be sold to the locals.[478]

Henry Bostock, stationed in the Middle East, remembered the days following the Armistice as disappointing and disheartening:

> There was a great deal of speculation at this time as to how much longer we would be in the Tripoli camp and what would happen to our horses, knowing full well they could not be taken back to Australia. In February [1919] came the news that we would be separated from our horses, which, by this time, had almost become a part of ourselves. They had carried us across the Sinai Desert and had been in almost every action over a thousand miles, from the Suez Canal to beyond Damascus. However, the worst news of all was when we were told that rather than sell them to the Arabs, always bad masters, they would be destroyed. All those under a certain age were transferred to other cavalry units, but they were few. The rest had the hair cut from their tails and manes. These were the unlucky ones shortly to meet their end, but before this we held a last race meeting, giving them one last duty to perform. Then came the sad day,

[476] Galtrey, *Horse and the War*, 116-18.
[477] Richard Van Emden, *Tommy's Ark: Soldiers and Their Animals in the Great War* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), 301.
[478] DiMarco, *War Horse*, 322-23.

> when we had to lead them away to an olive grove, where they were shot and disembowelled. To me, the most cruel part was having to lead them though the dead to be shot themselves. Don't tell me the horses did not know what was going to happen to them, mine kept shaking his head, as he always did in action and the bullets were hissing around. This very bad business over, we handed in all saddlery and surplus equipment to the Ordnance Department and finally, on 3rd March, 1919, we said "Goodbye" to Syria and Palestine.[479]

In a majority of these British accounts from the Middle East, there are elements of both racism and orientalism within the soldiers' sentiments. The accounts routinely note the bond between soldier and war horse but also mention disgust for the locals and their practices, including their treatment of animals. In his poem, "Horses Stay Behind," Major Oliver Hogue (a.k.a. Trooper Bluegum), articulated the feelings of many British soldiers after war, as they lamented their separation from the horses who were their virtual comrades:

> In the days to come we'll wander west and cross the range again;
> We'll hear the bush birds signing in the green trees after rain:
> We'll canter through the Mitchell grass and breast the breaking wind
> But we'll have other horses. Our chargers stayed behind.
>
> Around the fire at night we'll yarn about Sinai;
> We'll fight our battles over again; and as the days go by
> There'll be old mates to greet us. The bush girls will be kind
> Still our thoughts will often wander to the horses left behind.
>
> I don't think I could stand the thought of my old fancy hack
> Just crawling around old Cairo with a 'Gyppo on his back.
> Perhaps some British tourist out in Palestine may find
> My broken-hearted waler with a wooden plough behind.
>
> I think I better shoot him and tell a little lies:—
> "He floundered in a wombat hole and then lay down to die."
> May be I'll get court-martialled; but I'm damned if I'm inclined
> To go back to Australia and leave my horse behind.[480]

These same opinions can be seen in the writings of British animal welfarists during the period. For example, Dorothy Brooke, who started the Old War Horse Fund in Egypt after the war,

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[479] Henry P. Bostock, *The Great Ride: The Diary of a Light Horse Brigade Scout, World War I* (Perth, AU: Artlook Books, 1982), 202-203.
[480] Marquess of Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry, 1816 to 1919. Vol. 5: Egypt, Palestine and Syria, 1914 to 1919* (London: Leo Cooper, 1994), 343.

considered the massacre to be the soldiers' way of saving their animals from a life in "slavery."[481] The financial pressures of the war greatly affected the human-animal relationships after the armistice. The bonds forged during the war were physically broken either by death or casting. This added a new dimension to the debate of animals in modern war after 1919.

Some repatriated war horses were "fêted as heroes." These were mostly officers' chargers and other well-known mounts; these examples included war horses such as Warrior, Quick Silver, Kitty, and Bill of the 47th Battery Royal Field Artillery.[482] Among the most famous group was a gun-team of six horses known as "The Old Blacks" by the Royal Horse Artillery. The animals were teamed in August 1914, and all of them survived the war before returning to London in 1919. The team went on to pull the "funeral gun carriages of many notable personages," and was chosen to pull the Unknown Warrior to Westminster Abbey on November 1920. According to J.M. Brereton, they were finally separated in 1926 for retirement.[483] Although the majority of the equine "veterans" returning to the UK were officers' chargers, a few were not. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Wingate-Gray, David, a Royal Field Artillery gun horse, served in the Anglo-Boer War and was already eighteen years old at the time of the Great War. David was purchased by four officers of his battery at the end of the war and retired to an estate in Hertfordshire until his death in 1926.[484] Jack Seely's mount Warrior attended the Victory Parade in London in 1919, along with many other repatriated animals.[485] Of the 160,000 Australian horses shipped overseas for the war effort, only one returned in Australia, a charger of Major-General Sir William Bridges named Sandy. Sandy was returned to Australia to lead the funeral parade after Bridge was killed in 1915. The horse's head is on display at the Australia

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[481] Dorothy Brooke, *For Love of Horses: Diaries of Mrs. Geoffrey Brooke* (Ed. Glenda Spooner. London: Isis Large Print Books, 1960), 2.
[482] Simon Butler, *The War Horses: The Tragic Fate of a Million Horses in the First World War* (Somerset, UK: Halsgrove, 2011), 139.
[483] J.M. Brereton, *The Horse in War* (New York: Arco Publishing, 1976), 143.
[484] Ibid., 142-143
[485] Jack Seely, *Warrior: The Amazing Story of a Real War Horse* (Compton, Newbury, Berkshire, UK: Racing Post Books, 2011), 153.

War memorial in Canberra.[486] Published in 1939, Brigadier Water Brooke penned an "autobiography" about his horse, Gladeye; it is very reminiscent of Jack Seely's biography of Warrior, written a few years prior.[487]

There are a number of recently published World War I horse stories, most notably those published since the rise in popularity of the play *War Horse* in London. In *Bill the Bastard*, Roland Perry recounts the war time experiences of Major Michael Shanahan and his Australian mount, Bill the Bastard, during the ANZAC campaigns in the Middle East. By September 1918, Bill was known by many in the Desert Mounted Corps and had even become "a symbol of the courage and the unbreakable will of the ANZACs." The epilogue of the book includes information on the postwar activities of Bill: "He is commemorated in a bronze statue at the village of Murrumburrah, nestled in undulating hills 340 kilometres south-west of Sydney and 125 kilometres north-west of Canberra. The sculpture, by local artist Carl Valerius, is entitled 'Retreat from Romani'. The life-sized work depicts Bill carrying Shanahan and the other four troopers to safety in the action that earned Shanahan the DSO."[488] Perry writes that Shanahan gave Bill to a group of locals in a small village near Suvla Bay, rather than sell him for labor or shoot him like so many other horses.[489]

Jack Seely wrote in *Warrior: The Amazing Story of a Real War Horse* in 1934 that "the story of my horse Warrior will show that not only did his vivid personality help me to gain the confidence of thousands of brave men, when without him I could never have achieved it, but that by his supreme courage at a critical moment, he led me forward to victory in perhaps the greatest crisis of the War. That is a high claim to make for any creature."[490] The relationship was a long

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[486] Ian Jones, *Australians at War: The Australian Light Horse* (Sydney: Time-Life Books Australia, 1987), 21.
[487] Walter Brooke, Brigadier, *Gladeye, the War Horse: The Life Story of a War Horse, Told by Myself with the Assistance of his Master Brigadier Walter Brooke* (London: Collins, 1939), 11.
[488] Roland Perry, *Bill the Bastard: The Story of Australia's Greatest War Horse* (Sydney, AU: Allen & Unwin, 2012), 274.
[489] Ibid., 270-71.
[490] Seely, *Warrior*, 44.

one: "In those twenty years we have had many adventures together, wonderful adventures, glorious adventures. In the late War nearly all his comrades were killed and nearly all of mine, but we both survived, and largely because of him. It is with a sense of duty that I write his story, the story of Warrior, my faithful friend, who never failed and never feared."[491] Jack Seely even recommended Warrior for a Victoria Cross, stating: "He went everywhere I went."[492] Geoffrey Brooke, Seely's fellow British commander and friend (and the husband of Dorothy Brooke) wrote a note of praise and memory for Warrior after the war: "You ask me if I remember Warrior, your old veteran charger. Of course I do. Horses, like men, vary in character, and he is one of the personalities that one never forgets. […] Unselfish loyalty, indomitable courage, exhibiting an entire disregard of danger, and a generous nature, always giving of his best. There were the qualities inherent in Warrior. What more does one ask of a friend? I am delighted to hear that he is still going strong and enjoying life. He deserves the best."[493] Both the *Evening Standard* and the *Times* ran obituaries upon the passing of Warrior in April 1941, with both newspapers labeling him the "Horse the Germans could not kill."[494]

Bonding and Memorialization

Sandra Swart contends that the "monuments raised in Britain after the war were the first mass raising of war memorials." She notes that prior to the Anglo-Boer War, war memorials were almost exclusively to officers; however, the Anglo-Boer War was the first war for Britain in which large numbers of war memorials were constructed for lower ranks. It was also the first to "show recognition for the ordinary horses," though it was not the military that recognized the

[491] Ibid., 53.
[492] Ibid.,16.
[493] Ibid., 103-04.
[494] Ibid., 172.

wartime efforts and sacrifices of war horses.[495] Despite being a nation of horse-lovers, there does not exist in Britain an official national military memorial to "all those loyal and patient equine warriors". In the post war era, the military continued to view war horses as financial resources, displaying them in parades, etc.; the official military made no attempt to actively empathize with the animals' sacrifices during the war. Most of the horse or animal memorials were commissioned by private citizens or organizations. After the Anglo-Boer War, war memorials were erected across Britain, but despite the use of horse imagery, horses were rarely the focus of the memorials, such as the memorial to the Carabiniers, which was unveiled on 23 June 1906 on the Chelsea Embankment, seen in Figure 5.B.[496][497] This memorial to the Carabiniers of the Anglo-Boer War show four cavalry horses in the foreground and two soldiers ascending a rocky path in the background; a third soldier waits behind, holding the four horses. We can see that the war horses here are just objects or scenery in the composition to highlight the activities of the soldiers.

[495] Sandra Swart, *Riding High: Horses, Humans, and History in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010), 132-33.
[496] James Gildea, Colonel, *For Remembrance and in Honour of Those Who Lost Their Lives in the South African War, 1899-1902: Lest We Forget* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1911), 126.
[497] Ibid., 139.

Figure 5.B[498]

Even after the Great War many official war monuments relegated the war horse to a background feature or a prop for the memorialization of the human cost of war. The Cavalry War Memorial in Hyde Park, designed by Adrian Jones and erected in 1924, is dedicated to all of the units that served but it makes no reference to their mounts. The memorial, seen in Figure 5.C, depicts a mounted St. George slaying a dragon and stands in stark contrast to the images of horses on the Chelsea Embankment memorial.[499] The Cavalry Memorial is a combination of three parts: St. George, the scenes of cavalry horses on the plate, and the memorial wall. Depictions of war horses abound on the memorial, most notably as St. George's war mount and the lines of cavalry horses galloping and trotting into battle around the base of the memorial. This time, war horses are a prominent aspect of the statue, though not the focus. The depictions of the horses still remain secondary to the humane combatants of the war and their sacrifice in battle, as seen by the sizes and positions of St. George and memorial wall.

[498] "From In and Around London, Walk 14 Battersea and Chelsea." https://www.flickr.com/photos/jos1946/sets/72157632185692710/, accessed 10 August 2015.
[499] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 143.

Figure 5.C[500]

The AVC also established a war memorial in Woolwich without highlighting the service's association with war animals in the Great War.[501] Lastly, as we can see in the photograph presented below, the Royal Artillery memorial in London does not depict war horses at all, erasing the employment of the animals completely, seen in Figure 5.D. The memorial remembers the guns and the men of the Royal Artillery but not the animals who pulled the guns, implying that the war horses, being objects, were not significant enough to be remembered.

[500] "Cavalry Memorial by Adrian Jones." *Victorian Web: Literature, History, and Culture in the Age of Victoria*. http://www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/jones/1.html, accessed 10 August 2015.
[501] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 49.

Figure 5.D[502]

On the second anniversary of the Armistice, a national monument was created in memory of all those who had fallen in the Great War – the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior. This monument in many ways parallels the remembrance behind the war horse memorial in Port Elizabeth, the war animal memorial in Kilburn, and the much later Animals in War Memorial in Hyde Park.[503] It represented a move toward national remembrance and mourning and away from local and famous national heroes. Animal memorials followed the same trajectory as soldier memorials moving from famous animals to animal masses after the Boer War and the Great War.[504] Edwin Lutyens designed a bronze war horse statue and plaque in 1926 to be displayed at

[502] Michael Arrighi. "Royal Artillery Memorial, Hyde Park." http://www.flickr.com/photos/arrighi/3626485240, accessed 10 August 2015.
[503] These memorials will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. They were commissioned by various animal welfare organizations between 1906 and 2004.
[504] George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 213.

St. Jude-on-the-hill at the behest of the Reverend Basil Bourchier, a chaplain in the Great War; the memorial is presented in Figure 5.E, located in the far left corner on a pedestal.

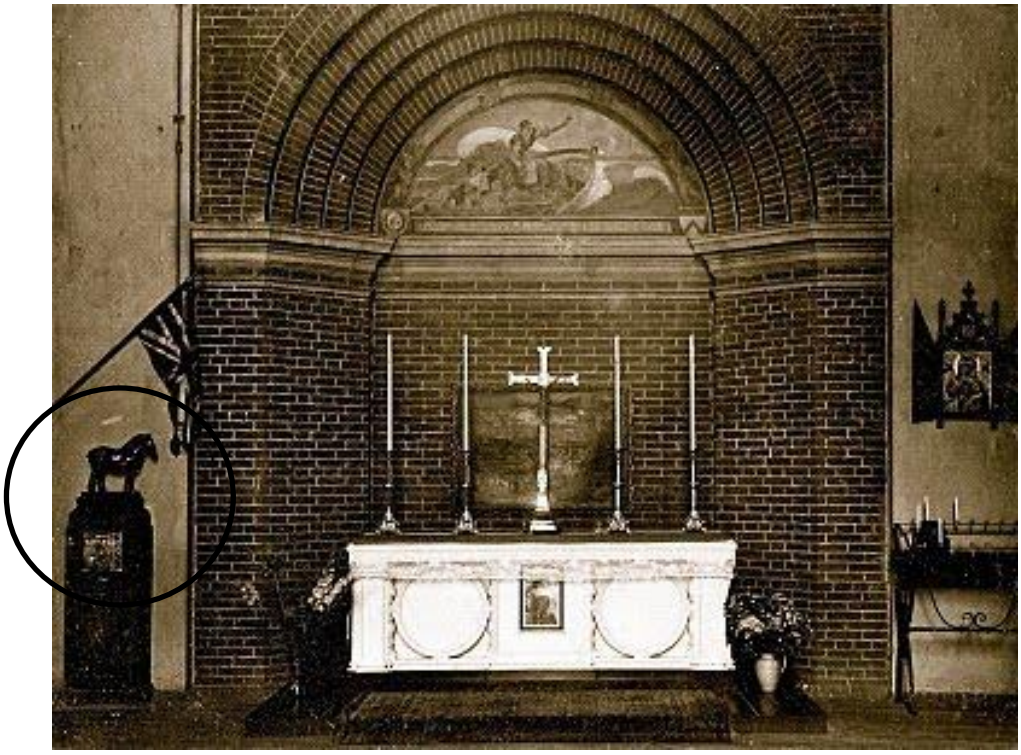

Figure 5.E[505]

The inscription reads "In Grateful and Reverent Memory of the Empire's Horses (some 375,000) Who Fell in the Great War (1914-1918) Most Obediently, and often Most Painfully, They Died. Faithfully Unto Death; Not One of Them Is, Forgotten Before God."[506] The Lutyens statue depicts a simple horse; given the physical appearance of the horse, one can assume that the statue was modeled after a light horse rather than a hunter or a heavy breed. The statue is small, but significant as it is one of the first memorials to horses following the Great War to focus exclusively on the remembrance of war horses. The statue was commissioned by an army chaplain, hence a direct connection to the military and its soldiers. In the 1920s, Henri Gauquie

[505] "The War Horse Memorial." *Saint Jude on the Hill*. http://www.stjudeonthehill.com/2009/10/horse-memorial.html, accessed 10 August 2015.
[506] "Saint Jude-on-the-Hill: The War Horse Memorial." www.stjudeonthehill.com/2009/10/horse-memorial.html, accessed 10 August 2015.

designed and built a war memorial at Chipilly in France to commemorate the 58th London Division that fought during the Battle of Amiens in 1918, which depicts a British gunner cradling the head of a dying war horse, shown in Figure 5.F. This statue is very reminiscent of Fortunio Matania's "Goodbye, Old Man," which we will revisit in chapter seven.

Figure 5.F[507]

Unlike many British war memorials, some Australian war memorials were dedicated to their beloved Walers, though most of these were built after the Second World War. In 1950, a memorial was unveiled in Sydney, commemorating the war horses/Walers of the Desert Mounted Corps. The inscription reads "suffered wounds, thirst, hunger and weariness almost beyond endurance but never failed. They did not come home. We will never forget them."[508] This is shown in Figure 5.G.

[507] "58th (London) Division Memorial, Chipilly." *The Great War, 1914-1918.* http://www.greatwar.co.uk/somme/memorial-58-division-chipilly.htm, accessed 10 August 2015.
[508] A.T. Yarwood, *Walers: Australian Horses Abroad* (Victoria, AU: Melbourne University Press, 1989), 184.

Figure 5.G[509]

This later memorial can be compared to two other war memorials in Canberra, the Mounted Memorial, erected in 1932, and the Animals in War Memorial in Canberra, erected in 2009. The Mounted Memorial is very similar to that of the Cavalry Memorial in Hyde Park, but the war horse is an important focal point. The Desert Mounted Corps memorial focuses exclusively on the war horses of the ANZACS; it is one of the only military-based war horse memorials in existence and was erected at the behest of the soldiers themselves, as a commemoration to the horses that never returned home after the war. The memorial focuses on the horses' suffering, their sacrifices, and their perseverance against all odds during the war as well as laments the horses' fate after the Armistice, showing the power of bonding and collective memory for this specific group of veterans. This may be because of the history surrounding the deployment of Walers in the Middle East campaigns, see Figure 5.H. In this memorial, the soldiers and their mounts command equal attention from the viewer. The horses are rising up out the desert, as if

[509] "Australian War Horses Remembered." History Services Blog. http://historyservicesnswblog.blogspot.com/2015/04/australian-war-horses-remembered.html, accessed 10 August 2015.

lunging into action while the soldiers mount up for the advance. It depicts the two species working in tandem, as if they are one unit, compared to previous depictions we have seen there the soldier and the horse were two independent entities.

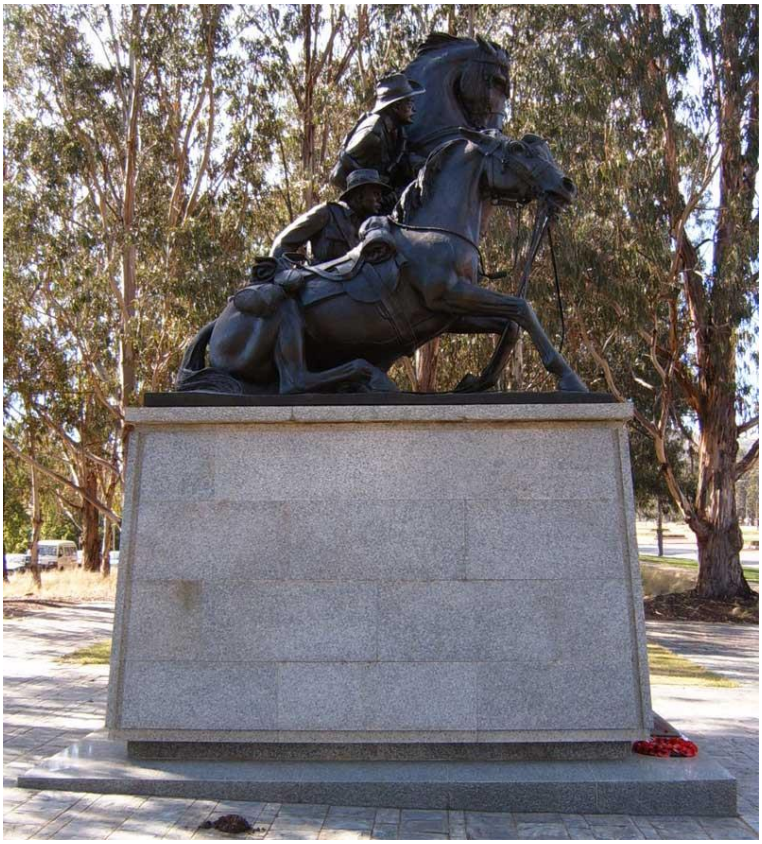

Figure 5.H[510]

The Animals in War Memorial located at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra focuses exclusively on the war horse itself, depicting the image of a shattered horse, see Figure 5.I. One can contrast this with another war memorial at the same location in Canberra, the Animals in War Memorial, which focuses solely on the sacrifice of the war horse. The brokenness of the statue symbolizes not only the loss of animal lives but also the effects of war on animals. The statute incorporates the only surviving piece of the original Desert Mounted Corps memorial, previously located in Egypt until it was destroyed during the Suez Canal conflict in the 1950s. The head of

[510] Peter Ellis. "Mounted Memorial, Canberra." *Wikipedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mounted_Memorial,_Canberra, accessed 10 August 2015.

the original memorial was returned to Australia and later used by a contemporary artist to create the new memorial, unveiled in 2009. The original horse head was modelled after the only horse to return to Australia for the Middle East, Sandy the charger of Major General William Bridge, who died in 1915. Sandy's head is on display at the Australian War Museum in Canberra.[511]

Figure 5.I[512]

In June 1934, the International Horse Show at Olympia in London staged a "Parade of Veteran War Horses" with approximately twenty-five horses in attendance. The horses were given special lodgings, special recognition of their "battle honors", and were paraded every night at the show. All of the veteran horses were between ages 24 and 32.[513] Horses included in the show were Quicksilver, owned by Colonel Sir Percy Laurie of the Metro Police, who was wounded at the Somme; Warrior, the mount of General Jack Seely; Kitty, owned by Lord Digby of the Coldstream Guards; and horses from the Desert Mounted Corps, three of whom were

[511] Australian War Memorial. "Animals in War Memorial." Australian War Memorial. www.awm.gov.au. Accessed 21 September 2015; Damein Larkins, "War Memorial Honours Animals Great and Small." News Online. 21 May 2009. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-05-21/war-memorial-honours-animals-great-and-small/1690680. Accessed 21 September 2015.
[512] Hilda Kean. "Animals in War Memorial Canberra." *Hilda Kean*. http://hildakean.com/?p=1308, accessed 10 August 2015.
[513] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 141.

rescues of Dorothy Brooke in Egypt.[514] Gladeye, the war horse of Walter Brooke, even "reminisces" about his time in the Veteran Parade in an "autobiography" written for him. In the 1930s, the military finally began referring to surviving war horses of the First World War as "veterans." These examples of memorialization and commemorization of individual and groups of war horses helped to redefine the meaning of the term "veteran" in British society, as people began to wonder if animals deserved veteran status and how they should be incorporated into the collective memory of the war.

After 1919, the British army further reduced its war horse population to 39,096 in 1921 to 24,522 in 1939.[515] While continuing to take horse censuses during the interwar period; the third census was in 1924 and the fourth was conducted in 1934. These censuses provided the military with a good estimation for the number of potential war horses in Britain, but also demonstrated that mechanization was rapidly supplanting British horses within British society. Table 5.D, in the appendix, with receipts from the 1924 and 1934 horse censuses, shows that between 1924-1934, the total number of horses decreased twenty-six percent within ten years, as compared to the 1924 horse census, according to which the horse population decreased more than 758,568 or twenty-nine percent between 1917 and 1924. We see that there is a steady decline in the number of British horses in both urban centers and in agriculture.[516]

Horses were not completely supplanted in the British army by the start of the Second World War. The RAVC was given the task at the beginning of the war with the care and redeployment of animals in Palestine, which had been attached to the last remaining mounted cavalry units; approximately 8,000 horses were redistributed as pack animals along with mules, instead of being casted in the Middle East. This was the fulfillment of a promise to various animal welfare organizations after the casting debacle of the 1930s in Egypt. The remaining

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[514] Ibid., 142.
[515] J. Clabby, Brigadier, *The History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps, 1919-1961* (London: J.A. Allen and Co., 1961), 26.
[516] War Office, *Report on the Census of Horses in Great Britain, 1934* (London: HMSO, 1935), 2-3.

cavalry horses ended up on fronts in Italy, Burma, and India.[517] By 1941, the British troops had been fully mechanized and it was the RAVC's job to move all the horses, including cavalry chargers, to other fronts as draught and pack animals, most notably for use in campaigns in Southeast Asia and Italy.[518] On the outbreak of World War II, the RAVC had 85 officers and 105 other ranks. By the end of the war, 519 officers and 3,939 men of other ranks had served with the RAVC.[519] It seemed, according to *Animal World*, that the RAVC no longer needed by the end of 1940, except that in 1941, due in part to a reduced need for war horses, the Army Remount Service was transferred to the RAVC, allowing for the "purchase, training and maintenance of animal reinforcements, as well as the care of the animal sick and injured" in combat. By 1942, this work expanded to include meat inspection for the military and the care of war dogs.[520]

At the end of the war, the British army was employing over 120,000 animals, mostly non-equine species such as dogs, birds, and even elephants. This figure did not include the over 80,000 horses and mules captured from the enemy. The army began its normal process of surplus disposal, following up on a 1939 promise to avoid casting British war horses to local populations. Surplus animals would be sold in the UK or painlessly destroyed, unless the horses could be sold for Western reconstruction. The horses were sold in small batches in England, so as to not flood and crash the horse market.[521] During the Allied advance into Central Europe in 1945, the Allied Forces found that one of their new tasks was to collect enemy equines as they moved through Italy, Austria, and Germany.[522] Much of the time the troops used these animals for leisure activities such as steeplechases, polo, and fox-hunting.[523] It was the job of the RAVC, however, to redistribute surplus and captured animals throughout postwar Europe for labor, food,

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[517] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 150.
[518] B.T.G. Forgrave, Lieutenant Colonel, *A History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps* (Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 1987), 14.
[519] Ibid., 13.
[520] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, September 1945), 68.
[521] Clabby, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 163.
[522] John Strawson, *Hussars, Horses, and History: The Military Memoirs of Major-General John Strawson* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2007), 33.
[523] Ibid., 34-45.

agriculture, and husbandry purposes. They were also tasked with preventing the spread of disease as the animals were relocated.[524]

The levels of war horse deployment in the Nazi and Soviet Armies were a stark contrast to the full mechanization of the British military during the war. According to R.L. DiNardo, "the German army's lifeblood was oats as much as it was oil."[525] In 1939, the Wehrmacht possessed approximately half a million horses.[526] Historians estimate that the Wehrmacht came to employ some 2.75 million horses while the Red Army employed on 3.5 million horses during the war, such that the European conflict was far from a completely mechanized.[527] Germany lost 1.5 million horses during the war.[528] In addition to purchasing of British horses, Germany requisitioned horses from captured territories during the Blitzkrieg and Operation Barbarossa.[529] In fact, many in the House of Commons in 1939 feared the British military's complete mechanization, because Germany was still very much a horse-powered army. The fears proved unfounded over time.[530]

After World War II, the RAVC's primary focus became the training and care of war dogs, as war horses were less of a priority due to mechanization.[531] According to Ann Hyland, the line between war horses and police horses blurred.[532] The British continued to use horses in the military as police and pack animals, especially over difficult terrains; the most notable examples were in Hong Kong in the 1950s, in the Falklands in the 1908s, in Afghanistan in the

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[524] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 15-16.
[525] R.L. DiNardo, *Mechanized Juggernaut or Military Anachronism? Horses and the German Army of World War II* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 107.
[526] R.L. DiNardo and Austin Bay, "Horse-Drawn Transport in the German Army." *Journal of Contemporary History* 23 (Jan., 1988): 130.
[527] Phil Livingston and Ed Roberts, *War Horse: Mounting the Cavalry with America's Finest Horses* (Albany, TX: Bright Sky Press, 2003), 33-34.
[528] DiNardo, "Horse-Drawn Transport," 135.
[529] DiNardo, *Mechanized Juggernaut*, 26-39.
[530] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 146-147.
[531] Forgrave, *Royal Army Veterinary Corps*, 16.
[532] Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era*, 200.

1980s, and in Bosnia in the 1990s.[533] In 1954, Ronald Duncan writes that of the British war horse:

> He serves without servility; he has
> fought with enmity. There is
> nothing so powerful, nothing less
> violent, there is nothing so quick,
> nothing more patient.
> England's past has been borne on
> his back. All our history is his
> industry; we are his heirs,
> he our inheritance."[534]

This poem, composed for the London Horses for the Year Show, summarizes the important legacies of the war horse in British society. The period from 1914-1945 saw the war horse transformed from a resource that could be nationalized and expended in war to a comrade-in-arms, a veteran who deserves compassion and support. The process of veteranization may have began during the nineteenth century, but it gained momentum during the Great War due to the high levels of bonding between soldier and horse in the face of industrialized warfare. The memorialization and the commemorization of war horses during the interwar period helped to expand the definition of "veteran," opening the door for other elements in British society to complete the transformation. For many, the changes to the soldier-horse bond during the Great War called the horse's status as a resource into question, especially in light of the wartime activities of the animal welfare organizations on the battlefield and on the home front.

[533] Ibid., 200-01.
[534] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 155.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF BRITISH ANIMAL WELFARE INTERESTS IN HORSES IN WAR AND SOLDIER-HORSE BONDING, 1850-1914

The period from 1850 to 1914 saw the inclusion of war horses into the welfare campaigns of organizations such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA). As early as 1902, many animal welfare societies had begun to refer to war horses as veterans, creating propaganda to support the notion that war horses were serving soldiers and deserved sympathy, empathy, and compassion from both their human counterparts and the British public. As Britain moved closer to war during the summer of 1914, many societies focused on pushing changes to the treatment and care of war horses based on their service to the military and to the state. The changing rhetoric of these organizations to include horses among the ranks of human veterans of the Anglo-Boer War helped to create a foundation to the work of societies such as the RSPCA and the Blue Cross during the twentieth century. This also allowed these groups to begin the process of veteranization within British society by focusing on reducing the suffering of war horses and the soldier-horse bond in war.

The Development of the Animal Welfare Movement in Britain

Britain's first animal debates began in 1800 with a Bill to outlaw bull-baiting. The proposal

was aimed at eliminating the sports and accompanying gambling from lower class life.[535] The law was laughed at by members of parliament and *The Times* pronounced it to be a monstrous failure.[536] In 1809, Lord Erskine presented the first Anti-Cruelty Bill to parliament, arguing that animals had rights and deserved protection. The bill was designed to protect animals from the daily cruelty they experienced on the city streets, but did not include provisions for protecting animals from common cruelties in the country side. It failed to pass the House of Commons, however the first British legislation to pass Parliament was the Martin's Act of 1822, which made it a punishable offense to "wantonly beat, abuse, or ill-treat" horses and other livestock.[537] Two years later in 1824, Arthur Broome called a meeting of like-minded humanitarians, including Richard Martin and William Wilberforce, to discuss the possible creation of an organization whose sole purpose would be to protect animals from cruelty.[538] Broome founded the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824; the society was later renamed the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) when Queen Victoria became the society's patron in 1840.[539] Queen Victoria even authorized the creation of a special medal for the RSPCA, to be given to its workers. It was known as the "Queen's Medal" and pictured the Queen and a variety of working animals on two sides.[540] The organization's main goal was to enforce the anti-cruelty laws and bring offenders to justice.[541]

In 1835, amendments were added to the Martin's Act, both clarifying the definition of cruelty and expanding coverage to all domestic animals.[542] This effectively outlawed most

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[535] Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), 31.
[536] Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 125.
[537] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 32-34.
[538] Clive Hollands, *Compassion is the Bugler: the Struggle for Animal Rights* (Edinburgh: MacDonald Publishers, 1980), 15.
[539] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 35.
[540] Edward G. Fairholme and Wellesley Pain, ed., *A Century of Work for Animals: the History of the RSPCA, 1824-1924* (London: John Murray, 1924), 94-95.
[541] Ibid., 35.
[542] Lisa Yount, *Animal Rights* (New York: Facts On File, 2004), 107.

blood–sports such as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, dog-fighting, and cock-fighting.[543] By the 1840s and 1850s, the Victorian middle class focused their attention on the welfare of pets, adding to previous concerns about cruelty toward working brutes.[544] The Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876 came about due to the new wave of anti-vivisection protests and the 1867 Dog Act, which sought to deal with London's stray dog (animal) population.[545] Since vivisection was done in private, antivivisection organizations feared that the scientists were also secretly experimenting on humans in hospitals and asylums, so the anti-vivisection movement's goals were to publicize and prevent the practice of unnecessary experiments on animals.[546] In 1875, a commission was set up to regulate, not to prevent, animal experimentation.[547] The act also only prevented the suffering of vertebrates (invertebrates were not covered under this new law).[548] Antivivisectionists believed that the act did not go far enough in the protection of animals, leading to more intense confrontations between scientists and anti-vivisectionists.[549] The Protection of Animals Act of 1911 established the principle that while man was free to "subjugate animals", he could not cause them unnecessary suffering.[550] This law expanded the protection coverage to all animals, punishing the guilty with a fine, but not imprisonment.[551] The 1911 Act remained the guiding force for animal welfare in Britain until it was replaced with the 2006 Animal Welfare Act.[552] Despite the changes in legislation, according to Harriet Ritvo, prior to the Great War animals were "only trivially different from less mobile goods" in the eyes of much of British society.[553]

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543 Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 151.
544 Kean, *Animal Rights*, 50.
545 Kean, *Animal Rights*, 91-94.
546 Ibid., 102-105.
547 Ibid., 105.
548 "Cruelty to Animals/Anti-Vivisection Act of 1876," 15 August 1876. *Animal Rights History*. www.animalrightshistory.org/animal-rights-law, accessed 1 December 2010.
549 Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 160.
550 Harold Guither, *Animal Welfare: Developments in Europe: A Perspective for the United States* (Urbana: Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1983), 2.
551 "Protection of Animals Act of 1911," 18 August 1911. *The UK Statute Law Database*. www.statetuelaw.gov.uk/content.aspz?activeTextDocId=1069356, accessed 1 December 2010.
552 "Animal Welfare Act of 2006," 8 November 2006. *The UK Statute Law Database*. www.statetuelaw.gov.uk/content.aspz?activeTextDocId=2926439, accessed 1 December 2010.
553 Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 2.

Britain's animal welfare movement was born out of nineteenth-century humanitarianism, which inspired the founding of numerous movements including abolition, temperance, factory reform, prison reform, and education reform. Most British reformers took a utilitarian and pragmatic approach to animal welfare in the first half of the nineteenth century, touting any legislation as a victory, but main three positions on animal rights developed: animals either have no moral standing, have moral standing but "a level of moral significance inferior to that of humans, or have a moral standing similar to that of humans."[554] While few philosophers believed animals had moral standing, many believed that animals should be treated humanely because cruelty to animals was seen as an inclination toward treating humans the same way. John Locke and Immanuel Kant are the most well-known advocates of this position.[555] In its 1857 pamphlet, the RSPCA states that as servants of humans, animals are entitled to humane treatment.[556] Earlier philosophers, most notably Descartes, maintained that animals were just "machines" with automated responses, but having neither sentience nor felt pain.[557] For this perspective, according to Lyle Munro, the suffering of animals was no more than the "sounds that an object emitted when struck by a hammer."[558] Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle pointedly criticized Descartes's theories in his own day, saying that "when a male dog machine mounted the female dog machine the result would be a third little machine, something that two watches fail to achieve."[559]

Many writers of the so-called "Romantic era" believed in a universal kinship between man and beast.[560] The rise of sensibility and reverence of nature elevated animals in their eyes from dumb brutes to kinsmen. In general, the ideologies of liberalism and idealism infused the animal welfare movement with compassion and activism to make man the best version of

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[554] Robert Garner, *Political Theory of Animal Rights* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2005): 11.
[555] Ibid., 13.
[556] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 97.
[557] Lyle Munro, *Compassionate Beasts: The Quest for Animal Rights* (New York: Praeger, 2000), 16.
[558] Ibid., 16.
[559] Colin Spencer, *The Heretic's Feast: A History of Vegetarianism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1996): 202-203.
[560] Bertram Lloyd, *The Great Kinship: An Anthology of Humanitarian Poetry* (London: G. Allen & Unwin ltd. 1921), xiii – xiv.

humanity he could be. With focus on the emotions, these writers called for a return of religion, especially the belief that a universal power connects all beings, and an appreciation of nature for the way it is.[561] Katherine Kete believes that the emphasis on sensibility during this period helped to push growing concerns about animal welfare into the public, rather than the private sphere.[562]

Earlier, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the growing public awareness in the middle classes of the appalling conditions of life in the urban environment led to an outpouring of charitable activities towards the working classes. At the same time, the middle class sought to "moralize" the lower classes because that would allow them to help themselves out of this appalling situation. This movement was to shape the lower classes by "shaping their conduct" was broadly labeled "voluntarism," and looked to recreation, living conditions, poverty, and education. As time progressed, this voluntarism diversified and underpinned the dominant humanitarian movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with their principles of liberalism and utilitarianism. Liberalism, basically speaking, is an economic, political, and social philosophy that endorses an "absence of government constraints that could interfere with the development of the individual," and came to influence the British government's policies on foreign and domestic issues.[563] Because of this emphasis on individual freedom, liberalism promoted the improvement of daily living conditions, thus, pressuring the government into social reforms.[564] Utilitarianism, the philosophy of Jeremy Bentham, stated that all laws, as well as all actions, should be judged by their "social utility," or whether or not those laws/actions provided "the greatest good for the greatest number" of people.[565] During the nineteenth century, the humanitarian movements applied Bentham's utilitarianism to the plight of people and animals alike, and found most laws/action of the British government to be wanting, leading to the

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[561] John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 614-15.
[562] Katherine Kete, "Introduction: Animals and Humane Empire," *A Cultural History of Animals, in the Age of Empire* (Katherine Kete, ed. New York: Berg, 2007), 7.
[563] Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 599, 612, and 633-35.
[564] Ibid., 633-35.
[565] Ibid., 612-13.

numerous calls for reform in the nineteenth century.[566] At this time, women gained access to such cultural activities as allowed them increasingly to become "producers and consumers of culture," and more and more actively involved in society.[567] While campaigning for the rights of women, many middle class women directed their energies to other expressions of womanly virtues such charity and mothering. This included the care of animals, and many middle class women advocated the humane treatment of animals and even an end to vivisection.[568]

Scientific writers focused on the place of humans in the hierarchy of animals. Though humans were at the top of the hierarchy, Charles Darwin and other writers emphasized the kinship of humans with animals.[569] In his essay "A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals," Humphrey Primatt was the first thinkers to advocate a biological similarity between man and animals and that animals deserved to be created humanely on that basis alone. He wrote that

> A Brute is an animal no less sensible of pain than a man. He has similar nerves and organs of sensation; and his cries and groans, in case of violent impressions upon his body, though he cannot utter his complaints by speech, or human voice, are as strong indications to us of his sensibility of pain… our own sensibility of pain should teach us to commiserate it in others, to alleviate it if possible, but never wantonly or unmeritedly to inflict it.[570]

Rod Preece notes that Christian thinkers from the seventeenth century to the present believed that humans have the obligation to be humane to animals because the humane treatment of lower creatures leads to the humane treatment of humans, in theory. He also believes that the origin of the animal welfare movement was a direct pushback to scientific revolutions, specifically the "Cartesian conceptions of animals as insentient machines." Preece argues that the spread of Darwin's theory of evolution greatly influenced society by changing man's attitude to his station

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[566] Ibid., 634.
[567] Warren Breckman, *European Romanticism* (New York: Hackett Publishing, 2007), 6-7.
[568] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 67.
[569] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 40.
[570] Andrew Linzey, and Paul Barry Clarke, eds. *Animal Rights: A Historical Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 124-25.

in nature's hierarchy, almost legitimizing the idea of human-animal kinship.[571] Ritvo believes that "sentimental attachment to both individual pets and the lower creation in general – a stock attributed of the Victorians – became widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century," especially after the "taming" of nature began during the scientific revolutions, when man felt he was no longer at the mercy of nature, but able to control and manipulate it in the form of animals.[572] The view that humans were animals lead to the attitude that a child was an animalized pet while an animal was a de-animalized or humanized pet, thus, animal welfare was an extension of human welfare.[573]

The expansion of literacy among the middle class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also helped to give rise to the humane movements in Britain.[574] Groups tried to educate the public on cruelty through journals and other literary material.[575] In the 1850s, books on pet care escalated in production as pet-keeping grew popular in the middle classes.[576] With the spread of literacy during the nineteenth century animal stories grew popular. The rise of animal anthropomorphism during this period led to the creation of a new style of narrative, the animal autobiography, the most notable example being Black Beauty by Anna Sewell.[577] In fact, the 1877 publication of Black Beauty genuinely influenced public policies and attitudes toward cruelty to horses.[578]

In the course of the Second Industrial Revolution, the divide between the town and the country widened until they became separate spheres of life in British society. Townspeople were exposed less and less to the daily cruelties of farm life, because the only animals that the upper

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[571] Rob Preece, *Brute Souls, Happy Beasts, and Evolution: The Historical Status of Animals* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2005), 2-3.
[572] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 2-3.
[573] Kete, "Introduction: Animals and Humane Empire," 15.
[574] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 9.
[575] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 39.
[576] Ibid., 47.
[577] Teresa Mangum, "Narrative Dominion or The Animals Write Back? Animal Genres in Literature and the Arts," *A Cultural History of Animals, in the Age of Empire* (Katherine Kete, ed. New York: Berg, 2007), 155-59.
[578] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 79.

and middle classes came into contact with on a daily basis were their pets, captive wildlife, and the working brutes of the London Streets. The upper class fad of pet-keeping reached the more affluent middle classes, who delighted in the idea of keeping small animals as family pets. The only cruelty that townsfolk saw on a daily basis was the driving of animals to slaughter and the brutal treatment of working animals on the streets, and even these cruelties became hidden during the nineteenth century with the rise of industrialized slaughterhouses.[579] The "mythologizing" of family pets in narratives opened many people in British society up to the idea of supporting the humane movement during the nineteenth century.[580] Studies have shown that pet-keeping in childhood is directly associated with increased levels of human to human and human to animal empathy. This is striking as it appears that societal levels of human to animal empathy rose during the Victorian period at a time when childhood pet-keeping was actively beginning to be encouraged and coincided with the rise of the animal welfare movement.[581]

Edward Fairholme, Secretary of the RSPCA, wrote that "the mind of a nation is of slower growth than the mind of the individual. Our ancestors were blind to the sufferings of animals because they had never been taught to see them…"[582] Hilda Kean emphasizes the importance of human sight and the success of animal welfare organizations in Britain. This emphasis on sight took the form of drawings, sketches, illustrations, paintings, and later, photographs to illustrate to the general population the evil of animal suffering and by doing so, hope to alter the moral status of animals. She contends that these organizations used sight as a way to redefine human-animal relations and bring to the forefront for the public the suffering of animals in British society.[583] The sight of urban cruelty lent creditability to the animal welfare movement. "If horses were ill-treated in public spaces, what even greater horrors happened to them in the hidden recesses of the

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[579] Randy Malamud, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Modern Age* (New York: Berg, 2007): 81.
[580] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 98.
[581] Marc Bekoff, ed., *Encyclopedia of Animal Rights and Animal Welfare* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 153-154.
[582] Fairholme, *A Century of Work for Animals*, 102.
[583] Kean, "The Moment of Greysfriars Bobby," 29.

knackers' yard?" became a call to arms.[584] One of the reasons that the slaughter industry was slow to reform was because it was not easily accessible and visible to the public. Work in the latter half of the nineteenth century focused on exposing the cruelties of the slaughterhouse as a way to pressure the public and the government for change.[585] Keith Thomas argues that the isolation from the countryside gave rise to the changing attitudes toward animal treatment.[586] Urbanization did not lead to the reduction in the number of urban animals during the nineteenth century but instead de-naturalized the city and turned it artificial and made animals artificial creatures in the new human relationships.[587]

The first animal to receive the attention of British welfare societies was the horse. Horses were used in much of the industrialized transportation schemes during the nineteenth century, leading to the increased need for and visibility of horses in British cities.[588] Kean suggests that urban horses were treated differently than agricultural horses due to the types of work they performed, perhaps due to a perception that urban horses were tied to industrialization and therefore were mere extensions of machines.[589] Because of the use of technology to kill animals, discussions of "new humane order of killing" acquired new focus.[590] Between 1857 and 1860, eighty-four percent of all RSPCA animal cruelty convictions involved cruelty to horses.[591]

Kean also observes that during the nineteenth century British society began to move away from the concept of animals as no more than human property.[592] James Turner suggests that the first animals to be protected were associated with agriculture because people worried that way of life would vanish if not protected; however, he does not mention that these same animals

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[584] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 52-53.
[585] Ibid., 131.
[586] Ibid., 30.
[587] Kete, "Introduction: Animals and Humane Empire," 12.
[588] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 50.
[589] Ibid.
[590] Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 185.
[591] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 137-38.
[592] Kean, "The Moment of Greysfriars Bobby," 41.

lived and worked in the cities.[593] In general, animals deemed useful or "noble" were the main focus of the animal welfare movement, especially during the early decades, and, the horse falls into both categories.[594] Kean argues that attitudes toward animal welfare did not change overnight in Britain and that while animals were still viewed first and foremost through the lens of utility, they were increasingly depicted as human companions with individual identities and characteristics.[595] Kean finally states that animal welfare became a way to illustrate one's respectability within the new Victorian middle class.[596] Many of the journals and pamphlets of the newly founded animal welfare organizations of the nineteenth century focused on the cruelties of both the aristocracy and the working classes and attempted to promote education within those classes.[597] This commentary can be seen as a general criticism by the middle class of aristocratic and working class behavioral excesses and morality.

On a more practical level, the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association (MDFCTA), was founded in 1859 to provide public drinking fountains and troughs for urban populations, both human and non-human, and especially for the working horses.[598] These fountains/troughs can be found throughout the British countryside with the fountains at Regent Park in London and the troughs in Horsham being notable examples. Kean labels these landmarks as "street furniture," and notes that they indicate the importance of urban animals in the daily life of modern, industrialized cities.[599] The first fountain was erected by the society in 1859 on a very prominent drover route through London on the way to West Smithfield.[600] More fountains and troughs were erected on popular drover routes through the cities.[601] And Kean added this clarification: "the priority of the Association was the promotion of temperance and a

[593] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 30.
[594] Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 18-19.
[595] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 13.
[596] Ibid., 67.
[597] Ibid., 69.
[598] Ibid., 54.
[599] Ibid., 55.
[600] Ibid.
[601] Ibid., 57.

clean water supply through practical means, as much as alleviating the particular distress of animals. However the kind treatment of cattle and horses in public places would also act as an impetus towards general kindness to these animals. Here it is changes in behavior and practical works which are paramount, rather than the implementation of law as emphasized by the RSPCA."[602]

A general movement to aid worn-out equines in British society arose in the 1870s with the establishment of horse rest homes, which would allow the working animals of the poor, most notably horses, to recuperate and recover from being overworked as well as give aging animals a place to retire and avoid the slaughterhouse.[603] The RSPCA routinely supported the work of these retirement homes through monetary gifts and advertising in their *The Animal World* magazine. These "retirement" homes for horses can be seen as a precursor to the convalescence hospitals of the Great War.

Rising Interest in Animal Welfare during War, 1870-1914

Prior to the Franco-Prussian War, many animal welfare societies rarely commented on the wastage of war horses. Little was done to better their circumstances, especially during the Crimean War, mainly because these societies lacked infrastructure, funding, and widespread public support.[604] However, during the Franco-Prussian War, the RSPCA wrote to the French and the Prussians asking them to humanely put down horses in an organized fashion, to save them from extended suffering on the battlefield. This was the first attempt by any welfare organizations to become active in military affairs. The Prussians appointed one "official horse slaughterer" to handle the task, after contact from the RSPCA, but this was seen as a futile effort by the RSPCA. Little was done for war horses in the French army due to the demands of the

[602] Ibid.
[603] Ibid., 162.
[604] Fairholme, *A Century of Work for Animals*, 204.

war.[605] The RSPCA made an impassioned appeal in September 1870 for soldiers and civilians to have greater concern for the Prussian and French horses in the war. According to the RSPCA, "no effective measures appear to be taken to destroy wounded horses - horses which have rendered perhaps the most valuable service to the soldier, and whose sufferings are equal to his when he lies wounded and abandoned on bloody battle grounds. … Besides the slaughterer, who follows in the rear of civilized armies to [destroy the wounded animals], it would be easy to instruct private soldiers to shoot badly-wounded horses." Until 1914, few militaries attempted to implement humane treatment policies, despite pleas from societies like the RSPCA.[606]

During the Anglo-Boer War, the RSPCA and other societies were relegated to supporting war horses from afar: spreading the idea of soldier-horse bonding in war, and equating war horses to comrades for soldiers in battle. In "A Plea for the War-Horse," a poem published in *The Animal World*, Catherine Comins implored the reader to remember the plight and sacrifice of war horses when they read of the war in the papers.[607] The RSPCA likened both working horses and war horses to "war workers," deserving of compassion as much as any human worker or soldier.[608] The RSPCA published an illustration in 1900 entitled "Wounded Comrade," which depicts a wounded soldier and his mount in South Africa.[609] In Figure 6.A, one can see a group of soldiers, presumably at a remount depot given the number of horse stalls in the background, tending to their mounts and conversing with one another. The extraordinary part of this mundane scene is the wounded soldier and war horse in the center of the composition. Both individuals exhibit multiple bandages, which seem to mirror each other. The soldier has his left arm tenderly draped over the horse's neck in an act of solidarity, a kinship between comrades. This image

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[605] Ibid.
[606] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, September 1870), 216-17.
[607] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1902), 181.
[608] Arthur Moss and Elizabeth Kirby, *Animal Were There: A Record of the Work of the R.S.P.C.A. during the War of 1939-1945* (New York: Hutchinson & Co., 1947), 15.
[609] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1900), NA.

emphasizes the bonding between humans and animals in combat and is quite different from the images seen in previous chapters.

Figure 6.A[610]

The Animal World also ran a related illustration to garner sympathy for war animals; the drawing is entitled, "War Commits Us to Torture" and depicts a pair of white horses and a pair of carrier pigeons prior to service in South Africa. The message is that animals are active particpants in war.[611] The horses and pigeons in this illustration are posed in natural yet sympathetic poses, especially the two white horses, who gaze out of their stable window at the viewer. Interestingly

[610] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1900), NA.
[611] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, June 1900), NA.

enough, the modern viewer might be struck by the absence of war dogs in the image; this is not unusual as prior to the Great War, dogs were not a routine fixture in warfare.

Figure 6.B[612]

As early as 1902, the RSPCA began referring to war horses as veterans in its *The Animal World*; in the poem, "The Old War-Horses," Sara Elizabeth Distin wrote that war horses deserve humane treatment for their service to the nation, and that the label of "veteran" should not be limited by species:

…

[612] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, June 1900), NA.

The Victoria Cross on his master's breast
Could never have crowned the strife
Had his fleet foot faltered, so madly pressed,
In the race for a comrade's life.

Forsake him not, care for him, keep him in sight,
The veteran maimed and scarred;
Give him the reward that's the hero's right,
And a place in your heart's regard.
…
Let him bask in the glade, and rest in the shade,
Till his peaceful day is done:
He has borne the brunt of the battle front,
Let him share in victory won.[613]

Another illustration published in the RSPCA magazine in 1902, entitled, "The Old Soldier's Prayer for His Surviving Gallant Companion in Arms," depicts two retired veterans bonded together because of their war service. [614] The retired veteran is dressed in his army uniform and with his medals prominently displayed. Like 6.A, this image shows the soldier gently caressing the neck of his former mount. The most striking aspect of this illustration is the expression on the soldier's face; it is one of fondness and nostalgia.

[613] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, October 1902), 157.
[614] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, May 1900), 67.

Figure 6.C[615]

When the extremely high levels of equine deaths became public knowledge after the war, many animal welfare organizations monitored the treatment of war horses and actively attempted to influence military policies and procedures.[616]

Welfare organizations also monitored memorials. Kean asserts that public commemorations of animals blur the lines between reality, narrative, and representation and are an important way in which humans redefine their relationships with animals.[617] It was during the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries that the types and location of animal commemoration began to change: from private pet cemeteries (much like the one in Hyde Park)

[615] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, May 1900), 67.
[616] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 165.
[617] Kean, "The Moment of Greysfriars Bobby," 43-45.

to statutes in public to celebrate special animals. It is from this latter type of commemoration that the memorials to unnamed animals arose (such as memorials to working animals and war animals), coupled with the rise of the unknown warrior or soldier phenomenon of this period, as illustrated by Jay Winter and George Mosse.[618] Following the debacle in South Africa, a war memorial was erected in Port Elizabeth in 1906 to the equines lost in the war; it was the first of its kind in the Empire. Compared to military statues, which emphasized the human elements of the war and the gallantry of war, this memorial illustrates compassion in war, human animal bonds, and the animal face of war. The memorial depicts a soldier watering his charger and carries the following inscription, "The greatness of a nation consists not so much in the numbers of its people, or the extent of its territory – as in the extent and justice of its compassion."[619] *The Animal World* covered the unveiling of the War Horse Memorial in Port Elizabeth and published this photograph to highlight both the memorial's utility and remembrance functions. The imagery of the memorial is one of compassion and gratitude for the war horses. One can contrast this representation of horses with the horses of the Carabineers Memorial. The horse is the focus of this statue with the soldier kneeling below the animal, a stance that is not required for the watering of horses. In the Carabineers Memorial, the horses are on duty, waiting patiently for their riders to return. One can see from an early time the differing priorities of military and animal welfare memorials in the depiction of war horses.

[618] Ibid., 33-35.
[619] Jilly Cooper, *Animals in War: Valiant Horses, Courageous Dogs, and Other Unsung Animal Heroes* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2002), 209-212.

Figure 6.D[620]

The Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association (MDFCTA) also erected troughs around Britain, commemorating war horses, while other welfare organizations published pamphlets and articles to disseminate information on the waste of animal resources in the war. There is even an instance of societies established symbolic graves for the war horses in Britain, such as the one in Hertfordshire.[621]

Following the war, *The Animal World* routinely referred to older animals featured in its pages as "old pensioners", much like the human soldiers (also known as Chelsea pensioners) living at the Royal Hospital Chelsea in Greater London.[622] In July 1909, *The Animal World* featured an article on an "equine hero" of the Anglo-Boer Warm, featuring the adventures of the favorite charger of Major-General Sir Edward Woodgate, Hackaway, who had since been

[620] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, March 1906), 57.
[621] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 166-67.
[622] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, April 1909), 77.

"retired" in the years after the war. "The story of this fine old war-horses, now ending his days in a well-earned 'leisured ease,' is altogether to stirring and pathetic that it cannot fail to interest all lovers of horses, particularly those who take pride in remembering the heroic deeds of brave men who have fallen in their country's cause."[623] The article redefines the term veteran as any living being that serves in war, and thus continues to promote the RSPCA's views of war horses as veterans after 1870.

Along with pressuring the British army, many welfare societies turned their attention to international peace bodies, in an attempt to establish widespread changes to the treatment of war horses. Some organizations, including the RSPCA, even petitioned for changes to the Geneva Convention to include clauses for the reduction of suffering of war horses during wartime. The Geneva Convention was established in 1864, enlarged in 1899, and late revised in 1906. Ernest Bell, Treasurer of the National Equine Defense League, argued that with the revisions of 1906, regarding the treatment of the wounded and the dead, that there was "no reason why horses should not be included in the humane provisions of this Convention," given their role in warfare. He especially decried that they were included in provisions regarding property, and this despite the alteration of attitudes toward the animal welfare movement since the Convention's inception in 1864.[624] The RSPCA began crafting a campaign, with the help of other organizations, in 1900 to "obtain an extension of the Geneva Convention for the alleviation of these wretched animals" and wrote to the Swiss President, Ernst Brenner, asking for a hearing on the issue. [625] Brenner agreed to hear these organizations, but the Geneva Convention revision was postponed first, by the Anglo-Boer War and then by the Russo-Japanese War. Brenner felt that the human suffering during recent events warranted more attention than the plight of war horses, and many members of the Convention feared that if war horses and their attendants were accorded special

[623] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, July 1909), 152.
[624] Ernest Bell, *Horses in Warfare* (London: Unknown, 1912), 9-10.
[625] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, March 1900), 34.

consideration, it would take away from the focus on human rights in war.[626][627] The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 further motivated the RSPCA to call of an extension of the principles of the Geneva Convention, which still did not include war horses, despite repeated pressure from the Society and other organizations. The issue was again tabled because of tensions within Europe on the eve of World War I.[628]

Meanwhile, a new welfare controversy captured the attention of the RSPCA at the turn of the twentieth century: the selling of sick, injured, and aged horses to the continent for human consumption. After being replaced by mechanized technology, the animals were shipped to the continent in large numbers, where they were inhumanely treated before, during, and after transportation to French, Belgian, and Dutch slaughterhouses. Already in 1895, the RSPCA created a system of animal welfare inspectors to patrol the major ports for the worn-out horse traffic to the continent, in the hopes of stopping gross abuses before the animals reached the ships. The first Exportation of Horses Order advocated by the Society, came out in 1898, and while it created regulations on both British shores and ships, it did not end the cruelties faced by the horses once they landed on the continent.[629] After the 1898 Act, the Society focused on the forced marches of the horses from the ships to the continental slaughterhouses and the inhumane slaughtering practices of the continental abattoirs-- compared to the newly introduced "humane killer" (a bolt gun endorsed by the RSPCA for slaughter) in Britain.[630] The Society estimated that approximately 46,000 live horses were exported in 1907 alone.[631] Through progressively stricter regulation of the worn-out horse trade, the Society was able to enforce policies that reduced cruelty to horses by ensuring the humane slaughter of animals in Britain before transportation.

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[626] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, April 1906), 73-74.
[627] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 169.
[628] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, October 1913), 195.
[629] Arthur Moss, *Valiant Crusade: The History of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals* (London: Cassell, 1961), 97.
[630] Ibid., 98.
[631] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, August 1909), 2.

Along with political pressure, the RSPCA published pamphlets and articles in its magazine *The Animal World,* to disseminate information to the public about the better treatment of working horses and the cruelty of the worn-out horse trade. In Figure 6.E, readers are asked to "Think of your horses as you think of yourself," clearly, connecting the humane treatment of animals to the treatment accorded to humans. The poster also states that members of the working classes need to treat a horse humanely because "he is earning your living." The image is entitled, "Underfed," shows a working horse, crippled by starvation and hard work, glancing at a poster that reads, "Food control. Extra rationing for heavy workers." The horse replies, "I suppose I don't count." The poster goes on to provide the reader with a variety of tips to aid working horses. These include remembering to water the animals frequently, refraining from using the whip, and remembering that less food should mean less work for the animals. All of these domestic issues easily can be applied to critiques of the army's treatment of war horses in the field.

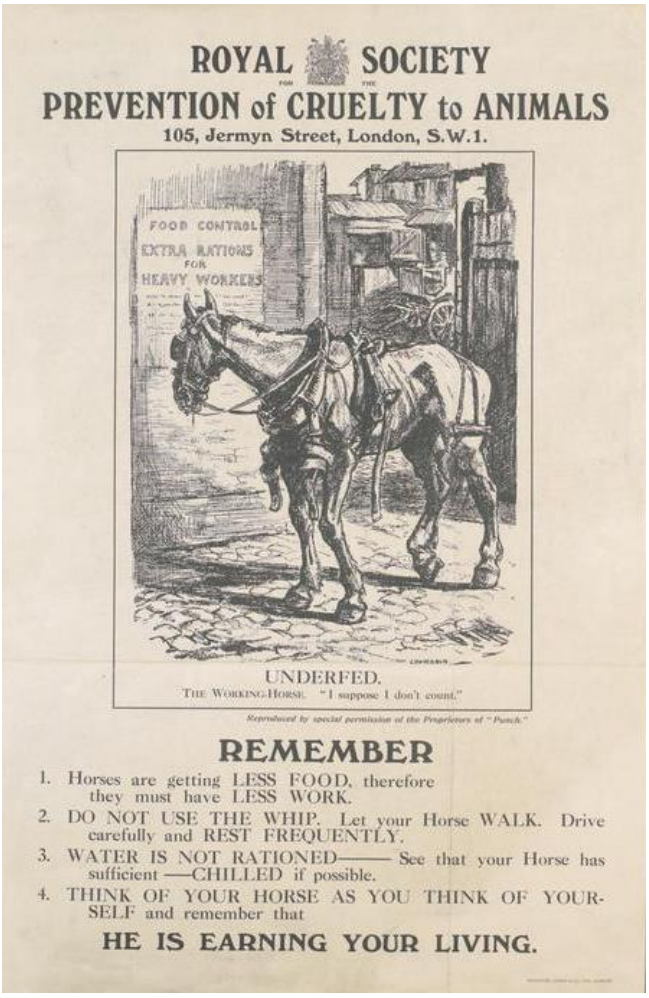

Figure 6.E[632]

In another RSPCA poster, we see a virtual political commentary on the selling of "worn-out" horses to the continent; it shows a horse entering customs, debilitated and starving. "Have you anything to declare?' asks the customs officer at Antwerp. 'Only this', says the horse, 'that I'm ashamed of my country." For many welfare societies, the trafficking in worn-out horses was no better than the heinous treatment of war horses on the battlefield, as both working horses and war horses provide humans with a service and deserve care for that reason alone.

[632] Simon Butler, *The War Horses: The Tragic Fate of a Million Horses in the First World War* (Somerset, UK: Halsgrove, 2011), 13.

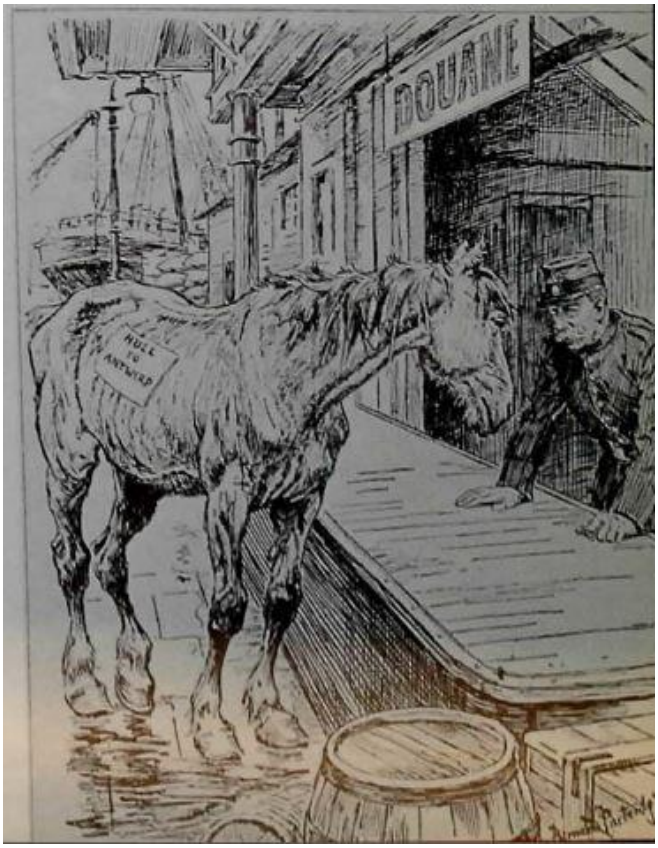

Figure 6.F[633]

While the focus of the animal welfare societies was firmly centered on daily cruelties, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many organizations began to incorporate the treatment of war horses into their missions. This focus on war horses and the soldier-horse bond would become an important aspect of their wartime activities during the world wars.

Putting this rising interest in war animals into perspective, especially with regards to war horses, one can see that while the suffering of animals was always the main concern of these organizations, they used the idea of the soldiers-in-arms and bonding as a way to secure sympathy, empathy, and compassion for animals in war and, therefore, all animals in society. The societies were beginning to use these "veterans" as active symbols of the need for humane treatment of animals at all levels of society. The animal welfare organizations would ramp up their crusade for the humane treatment of war horses and other war animals as the horrors of war

[633] Anthony Brown, *Who Cares for Animals? 150 Years of the RSPCA* (London: Heinemann, 1974), 33.

escalated during the First World War. The work of these groups actively transformed the status of war horses and redefined the term "veteran" in British society by emphasizing war activism, public education, and the visibility of the plight of the war horse.

CHAPTER VII

BONDING AND VETERANIZATION IN THE WAR EFFORTS OF ANIMAL WELFARE SOCIETIES DURING THE WORLD WARS

While perceptions of horses within the British army changed as a result of soldier-horse bonding, animal welfare organizations influenced the British public to rethink the type of treatment horses deserved as a reward for their service. Changes within the British military influenced the economic and social perceptions of war horses, but the work of animal welfare organizations like the RSPCA, the Blue Cross, and the Brooke made veteranization—the idea that horses were also veterans-- into a mainstream phenomenon during the twentieth century.

Animal Welfare Aid and the Great War

At the outbreak of the war, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was barred from "extending its operations to the seat of war" and advised to focus on its work at home by the Army Council, to the chagrin of the Society.[634] The War Office believed that the services and support of animal welfare organizations were unnecessary in the European conflict.[635] However, as the conflict escalated in size, the Army Council approached the RSPCA for aid. The RSPCA Fund for Sick and Wounded Horses was approved by the Army Council on November 5, 1914;

[634] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, September 1914), 163.
[635] Ibid., 163.

the Army Council sent the Society a letter asking for further assistance to the Army Veterinary Corps in the forms of veterinary supplies and the training of new recruits.[636] In response to the statement that horses from other nations also deserved the attention of the RSPCA, the chairman of the Society noted at the Society's annual meeting that "The funds at disposal for the relief of horses are necessarily limited, and I always think our first duty is to our own Imperial horses. We cannot be blamed for wishing to look after them first. We want more than we have at present for our own needs, and that being so we should be hardly doing our duty if we supported the horses of other countries." However, the Chairman agreed that the RSPCA would not discourage people from donating to the other animal welfare organizations, if they wanted to support the welfare of non-British war horses.[637]

In 1915, the RSPCA reported that "a strong public feeling existed that there was an unworthy competition for acquiring notoriety among these various societies which were collecting for wounded horses," and suggested that the Society needed to quash the competition to keep moneys from being severely divided..[638] In many of its advertisements, the RSPCA did attempt to dis-sway the British public from donating to other animal welfare organizations, such as the Blue Cross Fund,[639] noting that the RSPCA was the only society authorized by the Army Council to assist the British military in caring for war horses.[640] By September 1918, the RSPCA Fund for Sick and Wounded Horses had spent £200,000 in providing wartime aid to the British army, about £1,000 a week.[641] The Society raised these funds mainly through advertisements and

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[636] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1914), 207.
[637] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1915* (London: RSPCA, 1915-1918), 151.
[638] Ibid., 148.
[639] The Blue Cross Fund was created by Our Dumb Friends' League during the Balkans War. To avoid confusion, the organization will be referred to as The Blue Cross, as it officially changed its name to this after the Second World War.
[640] Blue Cross Fund, *The Blue Cross Fund and the R.S.P.C.A.* (London: "Sporting Life," 5 August 1916), 3; Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, April 1915), 33.
[641] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, September 1918), 98.

fundraising events. The full page advertisement in the Society's *The Animal World*, shown in Figure 7.A, discusses the need for war funds for veterinary supplies and tells readers that the RSPCA was the only animal welfare authorized by the Army Council to raise funds for the British army. The advertisement depicts mundane, equine activities both in Great Britain and on the Western Front. These activities include agricultural horses, remount depots, the shipping of horses across the channel, war on the Western Front, and veterinary hospitals. At the top of the poster, the words, "Look sir, my wounds!" and "A Horse can do no more!" can be seen. These quotations directly link the employment of war horses with the ideas of service and duty. The advertisement goes on to explain the importance of donations to the Sick and Wounded Horses Fund and what the funds are required for. The most interesting aspect of this illustration is its depiction of war horses at every stage of the British war effort on the Western Front, permanently imbedding the animals within the associations of the war as a whole. It simultaneously raises the status of war horses within the war effort and connects animal welfare with future, British victory.

Figure 7.A[642]

The Society also organized War Horse Days and Flag Days to help raise war funds. At these events, the public could purchase flags, pins, and other RSPCA memorabilia in support of the British war horses. The earliest War Horse Days took place in late December 1914, with the

[642] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, October 1915), NA.

Society making it clear that supporting the war horses was supporting the troops.[643] In 1915 alone, the RSPCA raised close to £50,000 exclusively from its War Horse Day and Flag Day events.[644] In 1917, the RSPCA even held a carnival to help raise war funds for veterinary supplies. In an advertisement for the RSPCA's Carnival in Aid of Wounded Horses, the organization linked the support of war horses to the war effort with the illustration's caption "Save the horses. Save the men. Friends in France."[645]

Over the course of the war, the RSPCA spent its war funds on a variety of supplies for the Army Veterinary Corps many of which were viewed as comfort and luxury items by the Army Council. The Army Council authorized the RSPCA to purchase all supplies asked by the AVC that were not "required" for a veterinary hospital to function: stabling supplies, medical supplies, engines, laboratory equipment, carcass economizer supplies, personal luxury items for the AVC officers and soldiers, ambulances [both horse-drawn and motorized], sheep skins, wither-pads, corn mechanical corn crushers and chaff cutters, humane killers, cloths, rugs, bandages, brushes, combs, hoof picks, tents, harnesses, horse tents, and horse covers.[646] During 1915, the RSPCA supplied the British Expeditionary Forces in France with three complete veterinary hospitals, each of which could accommodate between 1,000 and 1,250 patients at a time, and the Society paid between £10,000 and £12,000 for each hospital.[647] The RSPCA spent £1,000 on each motorized horse ambulance and £40-60 for each horse-drawn ambulance

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[643] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, February 1915), 22; Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, August 1915), 94.
[644] RSPCA, *Annual Report, 1915*, 12.
[645] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, "Carnival in Aid of Wounded Horses," (Glasgow: John Horn, c. 1917), NA.
[646] L.J. Blenkinsop, Major-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel J.W. Rainey, *History of the Great War based on Official Documents: Veterinary Services* (London: HMSO, 1925), 56-7; Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, November 1914), 194; RSPCA, *Annual Report, 1915*, 11-2.
[647] RSPCA, *Annual Report, 1915*, 11-2.

[compared to the average cost of £500 for lorries], making the motorized ambulance the single most expensive "luxury" item purchased by the Society during the war.[648]

The Society also worked closely with members of the state and the military to boost public awareness of the use of animals, and offered educational lectures and demonstrations to army enlistees. In the first eighteen months of the war, the organization presented 250 lectures and demonstrations to approximately 55,000 men.[649] The Society also asked the Archbishop of Canterbury in September 1914 to endorse a nation-wide prayer for animals during the war in Europe. The Archbishop of Canterbury suggested that Anglican pastors use something along the lines of "Almighty and most merciful Father, we pray for Thy assistance so to control our thoughts as not to hinder our compassion for all Thy creatures who are exposed to suffering and misery, and to be moved at all times to bestow on them such protection and relief as it may lie in our power to afford them through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."[650] The Society even worked closely with the monarchy to raise awareness for the plight of British war horses aboard. The King's mother, Queen Alexandra, in particular, worked with the RSPCA to support British war horses.[651] The most important work of the RSPCA and other animal welfare organizations was to maintain the status quo for returning veterans, i.e. to emphasize the British "values of companionship, duty and loyalty" during war of both humans and animals thereby maintaining the "British way of life" in the face of war.[652]

Many war horses, whatever their origins, gained "Britishness" as part of their service to the British military.[653] The RSPCA even goes so far as to apply nationality to equines in the

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[648] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1916* (London: RSPCA, 1915-1918), NA.
[649] Edward Fairholme and Wellesley Pain, ed., *A Century of Work for Animals: the History of the RSPCA, 1824-1924* (London: John Murray, 1924), 210.
[650] RSPCA, *The Animal World*, September 1914, 161-2.
[651] Fairholme, *A Century of Work for Animals*, 100-1.
[652] Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), 175.
[653] Ibid., 174.

military, praising animals for their "British" behavior under fire in October 1918.[654] This seems to play on the British stereotypes of stoicism, loyalty, courageous, and steadfastness in the face of danger. It seems that they are applying the British idea of "keeping a stiff upper lip" to the behavior of war horses as well as implying that war horses are part of the British national identity. Animal welfare organizations produced visual images in support of this notion of national inclusiveness for war horses and to garner donations for the war effort in the process. These images showed war animals and soldiers as partners, even though, according to the societies, the horses served without choice or understanding.[655] An article featured in the February 1915 edition of *The Animal World*, "Our Dumb Conscripts," discussed the training of military horses and the animals' bodily requirements. The article stated that "a disciplined war horse is a valuable fighting asset. He is in many respects as clever as the man who guides him, and can teach a new rider a great deal. Many of our artillery horses, according to a war correspondent, know with mathematical exactness the proper interval of one gun from another. To swing the gun round at the due distance is now ingrained as an instinct and performed with the regularity of a ploughing horse when he turns at the headland of the field."[656] In April 1915, *The Animal World* ran another article, "The Soldier's Best Friend;" emphasizing that "the soldier's best friend is his horse. This is obviously true of the cavalryman, and equally, though perhaps less obviously, of every unit of our fighting forces." The writer connected the importance of animal welfare to the needs and safety of British soldiers at the front, stating that "The laborer is worthy of his hire, and a tender consideration for the needs of dumb servants is not incompatible with courage and the stern actualities of the soldier's life."[657]

The Animal World also routinely published illustrations and photographs depicting the bond between soldier and horse at the front. On the cover of the March 1915 issue, as seen in

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[654] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, October 1918), 112.
[655] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 171.
[656] RSPCA, *The Animal World*, February 1915, 18.
[657] RSPCA, *The Animal World*, April 1915, 41.

Figure 7.B, the RSPCA placed a photograph of a soldier watering his horse with the caption, "Comrades," illustrating that human-animal bonding is an important aspect of the war effort. This image is very reminiscent of the Port Elizabeth war memorial, displaying a soldier's compassion for his horse through the simple act of watering.

Figure 7.B[658]

Furthermore, *The Animal World* discussed the effects of shellshock on war horses in its February 1918 issue. The article, "Animal Sufferers from Shell Shock," quoted the statements of an officer in the Royal Army Medical Corps:

> There is a great difference in the horses as they go in and come out of the lines. Full of fire and beans, conscious of excellent grooming and clean wagons and polished harness, they seem impatient to drag their guns from the comforts of French billets to the unknown discomfort of the line. But when they come out

[658] Ibid,. NA.

> they are plastered with mud and very tired, and show no interest in the gun teams that pass them on their way up. … A gunner told me an interesting story of shell shock in his gun team – how they were sheltering under a wall when a shell exploded among them, but miraculously escaped unharmed. Never again would this gun team approach that wall without shaking and quivering and falling down, or hear the sound of a near approaching shell without showing these same symptoms as a soldier might. These horses had to be evacuated to a veterinary hospital well behind the lines and out of the range of shell and bomb till time brought forgetfulness and they could be sent up again. Never will a horse forget any place where previously he had been wounded. When, for instance, he is taking ammunition up to a battery he will shiver and tremble and hurry past at a gallop any exposed spot or dangerous crossroads where, perhaps months before, he stopped a bit of shrapnel. Very quick are they to spot a near approaching shell; and on an exposed road on their way up they duck their heads and drop on their knees, and even lie down, when they see their drivers taking cover to avoid a dangerously close one.[659]

The medical officer equated the behavior to shell-shocked war horses to that of traumatized soldiers, and added that the horses exhibited a variety of symptoms also seen in battle-fatigued troops. Because of widespread sentiment within the Society that all war animals were veterans, many members believed that

> Since it was [man's] war—not [the animals'] war—it is only fair to ask what compensation they got. Half of them died. The other half that lived through it … have received few honors. … What they did get, if they were lucky, was a bare living. But they earned more than that, and the balance is still due to them. We used those horses and millions more to the very limit, and it was fitting that we should. When men are dying by thousands, and civilization itself is at stake, there is no time for sentimentality. There was no reason for sparing horses if by their use we could shorten the war, and save the lives of men and all that real men stand for. But by using them in this way we incurred a deep and lasting debt of gratitude. We can never pay it to them. ... But we can pay it in part, and lasting shame to us if we don't, by greater kindness, greater decency, more thought and consideration for other horses all over the world, no matter in what capacities they may be working. Let us pay our debt—let us pay our debt![660]

Despite the belief in labeling war animals as veterans, animal welfare societies, including the RSPCA, were always careful to emphasize the importance of aiding soldiers first, then animals; this was done to reduce criticism and show that the groups were supporting the war effort before

[659] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, February 1918), 21-2.
[660] Ernest Baynes, *Animal Heroes of the Great War* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 33-4.

their own agendas.[661] One member of the organization, a Mrs. Ewing, even stated that "There are killed and wounded in war, whose names never reach Downing Street," implying that not only are war animals veterans, but that they are forgotten veterans of the war.[662]

A constant source of tension between the RSPCA and the British army, similar to the tensions between soldiers and the army, was the casting of war horses. As early as 1915, the RSPCA wanted the army to consider ending the casting of war horses on both the Western and the Eastern fronts; however, this action was deemed generally implausible by the army during the early years of the war.[663] But by 1916, the army had, upon intense pressure from the RSPCA, halted the casting of war horses on the Eastern Front.[664] One wonders if this difference in regional casting was due, in part, to the larger population of war horses on the Western Front or the more favorable view of the British regarding the France and its animal welfare laws. The army also did not end casting in the Middle East, despite a resolution sent to the RSPCA by the army in late 1916 stating the army's future intention to discontinue casting in that region.[665] Military casting would become a driving issue for many animal welfare organizations during the interwar period, not only in terms of equine welfare but also in terms of horses' moral and veteran statuses.

The Blue Cross was the one of the other major animal welfare organization involved with war horses during this period. Originally called the Our Dumb Friends' League, the Blue Cross was founded in 1897 and opened its first hospital in London in 1906.[666] The ODFL established a war horse relief fund during the First Balkan War in 1912 and modeled its work on the Red

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[661] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 169.
[662] Henry Newbolt and M. L. Nott, *Animal Poems and Stories Contributed by Sir Henry Newbolt and Others* (London: Hugh Rees, 1916), 19.
[663] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1916), 154.
[664] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, November 1916), 121.
[665] RSPCA, *The Animal World*, December 1916, 138.
[666] Carmen Smith, *The Blue Cross At War. Based on the Annual Reports of Our Dumb Friends' League* (Windsor, Berkshire, UK: Reedprint, 1990), 5.

Cross.[667] The Blue Cross was the first animal welfare organization to work in the field. Unlike the RSPCA, which did not take an active role in modern warfare until 1914, the Blue Cross worked in the field during the Balkan Wars.

At the start of the Great War, the Blue Cross offered its support to the British army, but was told that the Army Council did not require outside aid for its war animals. Despite this ban, the Blue Cross continued to "supply materials and comforts for the horses to individual regiments" in the British army until the Army Council prohibited it and only authorized the RSPCA. "Recognizing that horses have no nationality," the Blue Cross approached the French army and began aiding French horses in the war.[668] The Blue Cross did continue to supply aid to the British regiments in an unofficial capacity and against the wishes of the RSPCA.[669] The RSPCA responded that the Blue Cross was "intended primarily to supplement the arrangements made by the French military authorities for the sick and wounded French horses at the Front, and has been officially recognized by the French Ministry of War for this purpose."[670] The Blue Cross also provided funds and supplies to Allied troops in Italy, Salonika, and elsewhere, stating that "patriotism is a fine sentiment, but it is a sentiment to which dumb animals are unable to respond.[671] Any animal, needing help, was given all the care possible at Blue Cross hospitals."[672] According to L.J. Blenkinsop, the main reason that the Army Council declined the Blue Cross's offer in 1914 was because, unlike the RSPCA, the Blue Cross was not an established organization and did not have its own trained personnel.[673] Blue Cross officials considered the RSPCA's publications to be jealousy and competition and felt that the actions were detrimental to the wartime work of other, less well-funded animal welfare organizations. They said that the RSPCA

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[667] Ibid., 7.
[668] RSPCA, *The Animal World*, April 1915, 33.
[669] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 7.
[670] RSPCA, *The Animal World*, April 1915, 33.
[671] Prior to the Animal Rights Movement, most animals were referred to as "dumb," meaning that they lacked the power of speech. This label seems to imply that humans are animals as well, but that they possess the ability for speech. This still stresses the animal hierarchy with humans at the top, but allow for kinship between humans and non-humans.
[672] Baynes, *Animal Heroes*, 282-3.
[673] Blenkinsop, *Veterinary Services*, 58.

was "only concerned with the horses of the British army," adding the question "which society, then would [you] rather support—the one which confines its energies to one particular battle-front, or the other which looks after the horses of all the Allies?"[674] After 1917, the Blue Cross extended its offer of support to the American Expeditionary Forces, supplying hay nets to American troops.[675]

The Blue Cross established its own hospitals all across the Western Front, and by December 1914, was running four hospitals on the front.[676] By the end of 1915, the Blue Cross was operating twelve hospitals across France.[677] Like the RSPCA, the Blue Cross raised funds for medical supplies, horse ambulances, and hospital construction and maintenance supplies.[678] By 1917, the annual cost of the Blue Cross hospitals on the Western Front was £13,500.[679] During the Great War, the League also published handbooks for soldiers on horse care and management in hopes of spreading education among allied troops.[680] The Blue Cross even produced medals to animal welfare in war. It awarded these medals to number of soldiers who "rescued horses under shell fire" in the closing days of the war; these medals can be viewed as the forerunners of the Dickin Medals, which were issued during the Second World War.[681]

The Blue Cross raised over three million francs during the war, the equivalent of approximately £6.5 million today.[682] The organization also held "Animal Days", Christmas

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[674] Blue Cross, *The Blue Cross Fund and the R.S.P.C.A.*, 4.
[675] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 21.
[676] Ibid., 9.
[677] Ibid., 11-2.
[678] Ibid., 11.
[679] Ibid., 21.
[680] Blue Cross, *The Drivers', Gunners' and Mounted Soldiers' Handbook, etc., to Management and Care of Horses and Harness. By Two Officers (R.F.A. and A. V.C.)* (2nd ed. London: Blue Cross Fund, 1915-1917), 5.
[681] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 21-2.
[682] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 21-2, Blue Cross Fund, "An Address, dealing with the work of the Blue Cross In France, delivered by Sire Ernest Flower (Chairman of the Blue Cross Fund), on Wednesday the 11 day of June 1919 at the offices of the League, 58 Victoria Street, Westminster," *Blue Cross Website.* accessed 5 May 2015. http://www.bluecross.org.uk/95437/Poems-lettersandbooklets.html. 12/01/2014, 8; *Blue Cross website.* Accessed 5 May 2015. www.bluecross.uk/95363/our-history-of-helping-horses.html, 1-2.

events, and sold memorabilia to raise funds, much like the RSPCA.[683] It sold postcards, particularly ones depicting Fortunino Matania's "Goodbye, Old Man," to raise funds.[684] One of the most popular and most recognizable images supported by the Blue Cross Fund during the war was Fortunino Matania's "Goodbye Old, Man," which was reproduced in magazines, in newspapers, on posters, and as souvenirs, not only to spread the word of the plight of war horses but to also raise money to fund their welfare on the battlefield.[685] In the painting, the soldier's comrades appear in the background, calling the man to join them as they evacuate the bombed-out village. The soldier, instead, cradles his war horse on the ground and kisses its head as it dies from wounds sustained in combat, most likely as part of an artillery team given the type of harness the soldier is holding. Unlike other depictions of war horses, this image graphically shows the fate of many war horses to invoke sympathy, compassion, and empathy for the animals. We can compare Matania's image to a variety of other examples of Blue Cross propaganda published during the war, each calling for aid for Allied war horses. In this famous image, see Figure 7.C, we see the painting of the young British soldier craddling the head of the dying artillery horse.

[683] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 15.
[684] Ibid., 15.
[685] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 171.

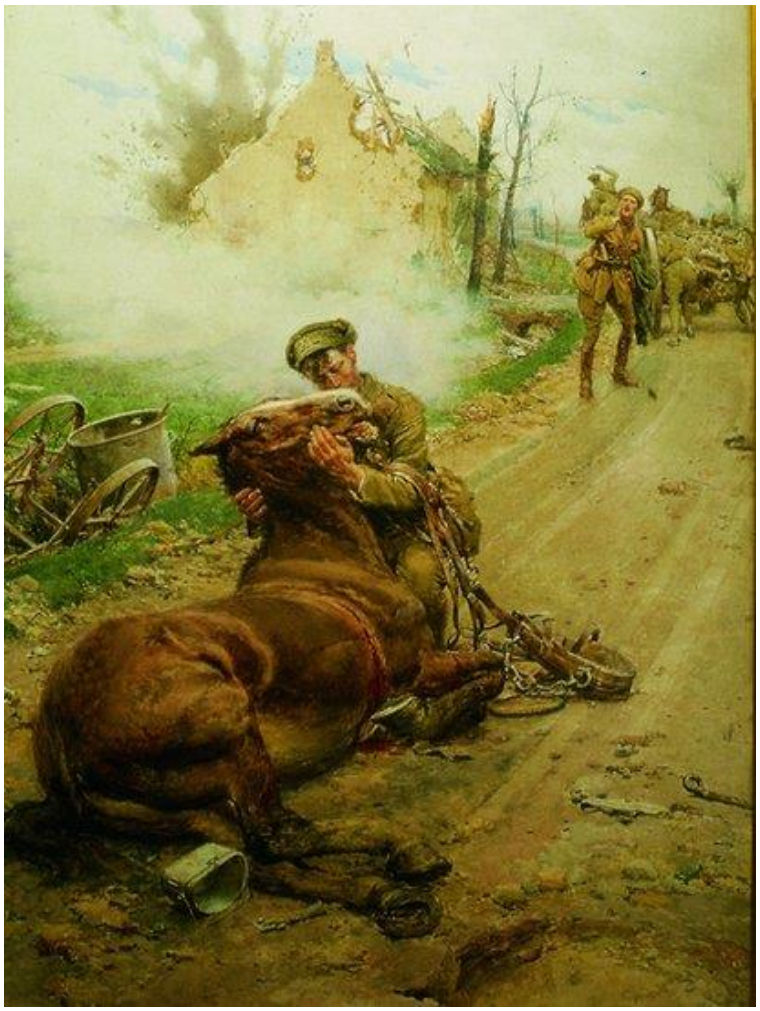

Figure 7.C[686]

Two of the Blue Cross's most recognizable propaganda posters depict war horses under fire and wounded, shown in Figures 7.D and 7.E. Both 7.D and 7.E show war horses in the thick of battle, under fire and in danger, though not as graphically as "Goodbye, Old Man." 7.D depicts a horse, most likely a cavalry horse, struggling to stand after being wounded on the battlefield while 7.E shows a cavalry horse shying from a shell blast. Both images focus on the sacrifice of horses in combat and call for the aid of all horses regardless of which army employed them, much like the Red Cross. Such images helped to connect the work and suffering of the war horse with the

[686] Fortunino Matania, "Goodbye, Old Man," 1917. "The Blue Cross Opens WWI War Horse Archive," *BCC News*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-oxfordshire-16550273, accessed 12 January 2012.

service and sacrifice of Allied soldiers and, thus, helped to extend the label of "veteran" to serving war horses during the war.

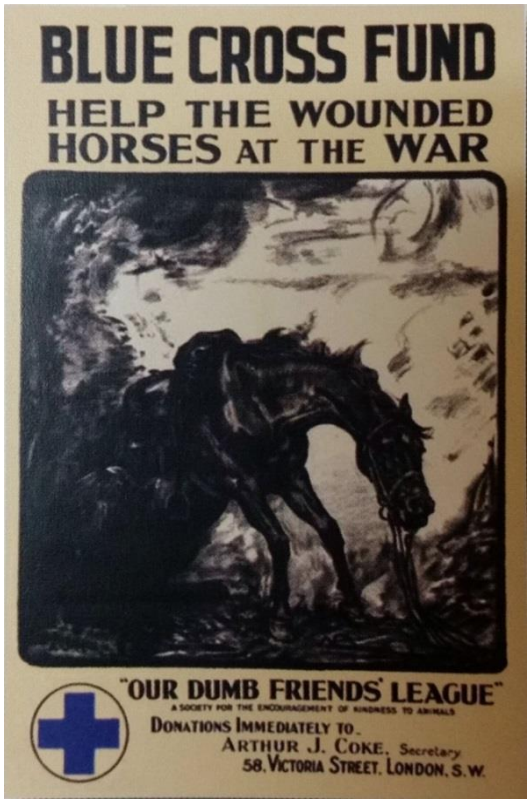

Figure 7.D[687]

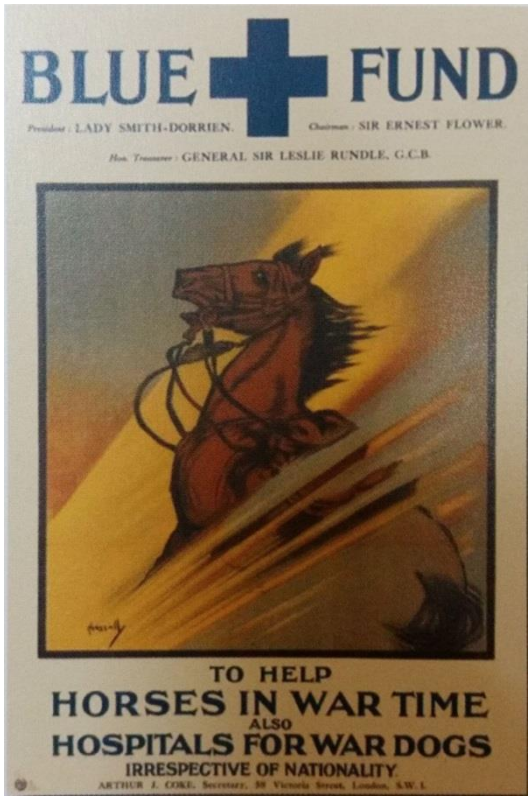

Figure 7.E[688]

Compared to the images of horses produced by the British army, images published by animal welfare groups focused on the animals themselves, showing horses frightened, suffering, and dying for the war effort.

The RSPCA and the Blue Cross were not the only animal welfare organizations to join the Allied war efforts during the Great War. The Purple Cross Service was founded by the Animal Defense and Anti-Vivisection Society in 1915 and also worked to supply aid to army

[687] Simon Butler, *The War Horses: The Tragic Fate of a Million Horses in the First World War* (Somerset, UK: Halsgrove, 2011), 113 and 127-8.
[688] Ibid.

horses on the European battlefields.[689] One of its main objectives, besides lessening the suffering of war horses, was to "obtain an extension of the terms of the Geneva Convention so as to secure for the Purple Cross Service international protection similar to that now accorded to the Red Cross Society", i.e. an objective of many of the animal welfare organization after the Anglo-Boer War.[690] Like the Purple Cross Service, the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals was an organization borne out of the war. The People's Dispensary for Sick Animals (PDSA) had its beginning in the fall of 1917, when Maria Elizabeth Dickin established a veterinary dispensary in the East End of London to provide free veterinary care to the animals of the poor without the threat of prosecution from the RSPCA.[691] During the last year of the war, the PDSA focused on establishing its home practices, before expanding its services to Ireland, Bali, and Cairo during the interwar period.[692] The PDSA would become an important ally in the fight for animal welfare during the Second World War.

Memorialization and Animal Welfare during the Interwar Years

In October 1919, *The Animal World* chided British society for focusing solely on victory and the human cost of the war. The magazine reminded its readers that both soldiers and civilians owe the "army of animals" a debt that should not be sidelined by armistice celebrations and mourning:

> They [war animals] suffered the same hardships, the same terrors, the same agony and frequently the same bloody death as their masters, and this without the power to convey what they felt, but always, naturally, taking second place to the human in comfort, medical attention and consideration generally. What can we do to show our gratitude! Surely by making life as easy as possible for those of our dumb army who return.[693]

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[689] Purple Cross Service, "Purple Cross Service for Wounded and Sick Army Horses," (London: Purple Cross Service, 1915), 2-3. http://archive.org/details/purplecrossservi00purp, accessed 31 July 2015.
[690] Ibid., 12.
[691] Frederick Montague, *Let the Good Work Go On* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1947), 16.
[692] Ibid., 42-62.
[693] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, October 1919), 112.

Throughout the war, organizations, like the RSPCA and the Blue Cross, had characterized war horses as "neutrals" on the battlefield, in that they lacked conscious agency and awareness.[694] This seems to contradict the organizations praising the "Britishness" of the animals in war; one can argue that this type of applied "Britishness" was a form of anthropomorphism.

After the Armistice, the RSPCA and other animal welfare organizations called for donations for the care of war horses toiling as part of the armies of occupation throughout Europe, the Middle East, and Africa.[695] They made immediate inquiries into the army's plans for its war horses after the Armistice. The RSCA urged the army to repatriate "all fit animals" and humanely destroy the unfit ones. The Society even provided funds from its Sick and Wounded Horse Fund to set up seven abattoirs for those unfit animals that should remain abroad. The Society was adamant that the Army Council should not permit the sale of horses to non-British locals.[696] Despite pressure from animal welfare organizations, the British army casted hundreds of thousands of war horses to non-British locals in early 1919. The RSPCA even petitioned the British government during the Paris Peace Conference to support proposals for the creation of an international charter to prevent cruelty to war horses as they were being demobilized and sold to local populations. However, the charter idea was rejected by the government and the selling of British war horses continued without the supervision or input of any animal welfare organizations.[697] The government refused to support the measure, stating that the animal welfare had no place at the conference. [698] In June 1919, *The Animal World* lamented the casting of these British war horses. "Would that these equine warriors could have received better reward for their

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[694] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, January 1919), 7.
[695] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1918), 141.
[696] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1918* (London: RSPCA, 1919-1921), 141.
[697] "Letter from the Chief Secretary, Captain E.G. Fairholme, of the RSPCA to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir A.J. Balfour, regarding a Proposed International Charter for the Prevention of Cruelty to War Animals." 27 February 1919, Page 1-2.
[698] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, May 1919), 51.

faithful service – their future in countries which have no legal provisions for prevention of cruelty does not bear contemplation. Truly the money which these sales have brought to the country may justly be termed 'blood money."[699] The RSPCA urged the government to only sell the horses to countries "where laws for the protection of animals existed" similar to those of Britain. [700] Then, the Society refocused its efforts on the animal welfare of repatriated war horses, especially with regards to quarantine procedures and the sale of the animals to civilians.[701]

Articles about war horses living in Britain after the war influenced the developing notion of veteranization. In February 1920, *The Animal World* published the story of a war horse named "Moira," who fought in the Middle East listing all of the battles campaigns she participated in from 1914 to 1919 and included the Battles in Gaza and in Sinai. The article also included her photograph with her civilian owner.[702] In April 1920, the magazine published the story of a horse named Ginger, who fought on the Western Front and listed its services at the battles of the Somme and Vimy Ridge in France.[703] The articles of the late 1920s and 1930s included stories such as the war horse Old Joe, who in 1926 was "saved" by King George V from the slaughterhouse. Apparently, Old Joe had served fifteen years with the Life Guards [part of the Household Cavalry] and was given retirement at Windsor by the King.[704] In 1931, *The Animal World* published the story of a horse named Billy, who was thirty-seven years old and had served in both the Anglo-Boer War and the Great War. Billy had been repurchased after both wars by his owner, George Foster of Liverpool, where the horse continued to be kept as a pet during the

[699] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, June 1919), 62.
[700] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1919* (London: RSPCA, 1919-1921), 139.
[701] Ibid., 139.
[702] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, February 1920), 23.
[703] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, April 1920), 46.
[704] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, August 1926), 91.

interwar period.[705] In May 1934 appeared the story of Charlie, a twenty-eight year old war horse who was enjoying his retirement after working numerous years after the Great War as a butcher's horse. Charlie's owner noted that after the war, the government had informed him that his horse had returned from France and was located in Bristol, should he want to repurchase Charlie. The owner went to Bristol and identified the horse by calling its name and asking the horse to "shake hands," repurchased him, and continued employing him until 1933 when the horse was retired.[706] In the March 1938 edition of *The Animal World*, the RSPCA contained the story of a thirty-five year old war horse named Jim, who had just been reunited with his army owner before being sent to a Home of Rest for Horses.[707] With its focus on the postwar moral status of war horses, the RSPCA even applauded Nazi Germany in September 1936 for issuing special badges to some 3,000 "war horse veterans" of the Great War at a horse show in Dusseldorf. Germany had set up a similar scheme to the Old War Horse Fund in the mid-1930s, to find and retire animals of the Great War, along with using them in Nazi propaganda parades. Such praise may have been a way to show the British public how other countries celebrated and commemorated their war horses.[708]

As part of this emphasis on war animals as veterans, animal welfare societies promoted memorials to the service and sacrifice of war animals in the Great War. George Robb notes that many public memorials after the war served as gathering places, and war animal memorials during the interwar period were no exception. These memorials could be found in hospitals, museums, churches, libraries, chapels, assembly halls, and art galleries. The monuments and altars of many religious-themed memorials served mourners as places to gather for outward

[705] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, November 1931), 169.
[706] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, May 1934), 70.
[707] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, March 1938), 48.
[708] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, September 1936), 136.

displays of remembrance.[709] In *Sacred Places*, K.S. Inglis writes that war memorials were seen as a reward to the fallen prior to the Great War, but afterwards the idea that memorials could help the grieving remember and process the events came to predominate.[710] As it was with the war memorials for animals after the Anglo-Boer War and World War I, they were a reward for the animals that sacrificed their lives for the cause, but they became sites for grieving and remembrance.

In November 1920, the RSPCA learned that the American Red Star Animal Relief Service was planning on erecting a memorial in honor of war horses in Washington D.C. Taking a lead from the American Humane Society, the RSPCA decided to pursue the creation of its own memorial to the memory of war animals.[711] In its 1920 Annual Report, the RSPCA wrote that "In the belief that there is a widespread public desire to commemorate the services of the many animals which were sacrificed in the Great War, [the] Society is closely associating itself with an endeavor to erect a national memorial. […] It is hoped that the Memorial will serve a twofold purpose – to commemorate in a lasting manner the sacrifice of the animals in the war and to benefit the living animals in some practical way."[712] In 1921, the RSPCA created a fund for a war animal memorial in London.[713] The following year, the Society reported that their proposed memorial would be located at the corner of Hyde Park and that the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association would be working in conjunction with the Society to

[709] George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 216.
[710] K.S. Inglis and Tom Frame, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006), 13-4 and 97.
[711] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, November 1920), 126.
[712] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1920* (London: RSPCA, 1919-1921), 158.
[713] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, January 1921), vii.

erect the memorial, which would take the form of a commemorative drinking fountain to the "silent martyrs of the Great War".[714]

By 1924, however, the RSPCA found itself under intense criticism from the government and the public over the desired erection of a war memorial to animals. Newspapers poked fun at the endeavor, stating that the memorial would laud the sacrifice of goldfish in the war, among other undeserving creatures. The RSPCA was accused of sentimentalism and minimizing the sacrifice of soldiers in the war. The Society wrote in response to the criticism that "every soldier who has seen a hundred horses slaughtered by a single shell in a town square in France will understand the motive for a memorial and that in Whitehall with it." The RSPCA also was forced to fend off rumors that its desired cenotaph to war animals served no purpose to the greater community.[715] Despite the debate in London, in 1925, a memorial to war animals was erected on the Isle of Wight by members of the town of Lake. It consisted of a trough inscribed with a message of remembrance and the words "Be ye merciful."[716] After years in limbo, the construction of a RSPCA memorial began in Kilburn and was designed to be an animal welfare clinic. The War Memorial Dispensary was formally opened on November 10, 1932, in Kilburn.[717] The memorial consisted of a large plaque and two tablets that hang on either side of the clinic's entryway. The plaque, which hangs above the clinic's entrance, depicts an angel surrounded by a menagerie of war animals including horses, bullocks, dogs, camels, and pigeons. See Figures 7.F, 7.G, and 7.H.

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[714] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1922* (London: RSPCA, 1922-1924), 155; Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1924), 147.
[715] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, March 1924), 30-31.
[716] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, March 1925), 33.
[717] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, December 1932), 178-182.

Figure 7.F[718]

Figure 7.G[719]

[718] Chelsea Medlock. Animal War Memorial Dispensary, Kilburn, UK. October 2011.
[719] Ibid.

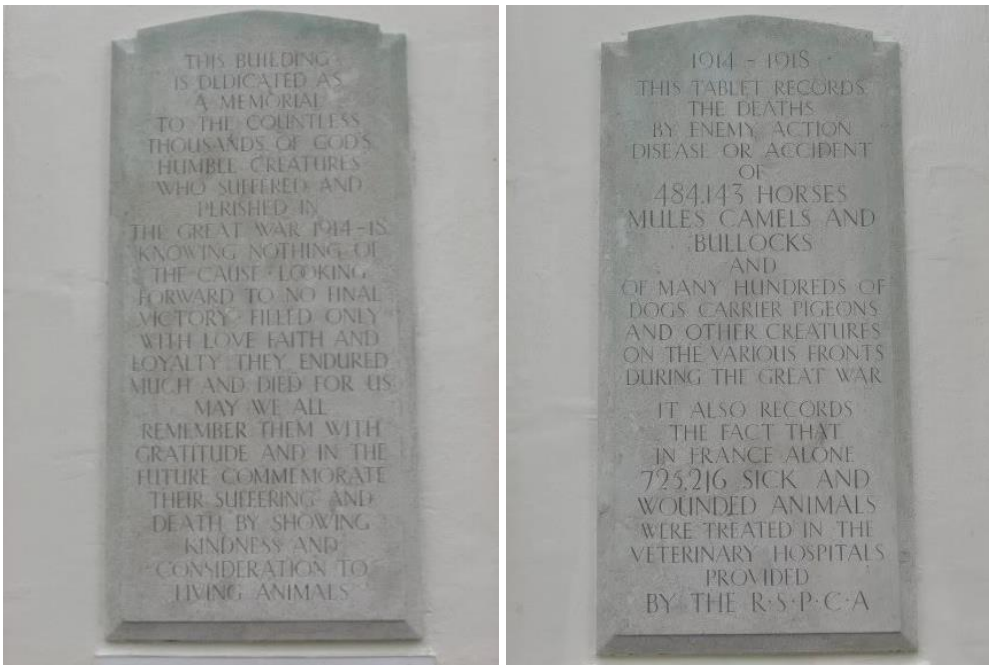

Figure 7.H[720]

The two memorial plates bear the following inscriptions:

> This building is dedicated as a memorial to the countless thousands of God's humble creatures who suffered and perished in the Great War of 1914-18. Knowing nothing of the cause, looking forward to no final victory, filled only with love, faith and loyalty, they endured much and died for us. May we all remember them with gratitude and, in the future commemorate their suffering and death by showing kindness and consideration to living animals." And "This tablet records the deaths by enemy action, disease or accident of 484,143 horses, mules, camels and bullocks and of many hundreds of dogs, carrier pigeons and other creatures, on the various fronts during the Great War. It also records the fact that, in France alone, 725,216 sick and wounded animals were treated in the veterinary hospitals provided by the R.S.P.C.A.[721]

The sentiment expressed in image and text is similar to the War Horse Memorial in Port Elizabeth, South Africa and focuses the viewers attention on both the memorial's public utility and remembrance of forgotten "veterans."

As an indirect result of the repatriation of war horses, the Society intensified its efforts to end the worn-out horse trade to the continent. In 1920, the worn-out horse trade exported 15,972

[720] Ibid.
[721] Arthur Moss, *Valiant Crusade: The History of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals* (London: Cassell, 1961), 127-128.

dead and 58,689 live horses from Britain, which was a dramatic increase precipitated by mechanized and motorized changes in British society after the Great War. However, the data illustrates an increase in the number of dead animals being transported across the sea and reflects the changes in regulations brought by the RSPCA. By 1931, the numbers had altered to 33,884 dead and 6,178 live horses, illustrating increased pressure from the RSPCA on the industry.[722] Parliament, at the behest of the RSPCA, successfully passed The Exportation of Horses Act of 1937, though to many in the animal welfare movement, it was "virtually ineffective owing to the high prices which the foreign importer was prepared to pay for" the worn-out British horses. The purpose of the bill was to end the exportation of horses for slaughter completely through the introduction of minimum values and prices for the horses and, yet, the trade continued into the Cold War era.[723] By 1950, the number of horses had been reduced to 1,636 as the British horse population decreased after the Second World War.[724]

Like the RSPCA, the Blue Cross after the war also made efforts to help soldiers bring their wartime companions, mostly war dogs, setting up quarantine stations at all of the major ports.[725] Along with the RSPCA, the Blue Cross supervised and facilitated the repatriations of war animals, military pets, and military mascots, though this responsibility did not routinely extend to war horses.[726] The Blue Cross Fund did send supplies to the British military, particularly in Germany.[727] During this time, focus was on the plight of domestic animals in Britain, and efforts to establish international satellites of the Blue Cross.

One of the main goals of the PDSA during the interwar period was the development of a fleet of welfare caravans that could travel the country dispensing aid to animals of the poor

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[722] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, July 1932), 100.
[723] Moss, *Valiant Crusade*, 105-106.
[724] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Annual Report, 1950* (London: RSPCA, 1951), 183.
[725] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 30.
[726] J.J. Kramer, *Animal Heroes, Military Mascots and Pets* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1981), 6-7.
[727] Chairman of the Blue Cross, "Speech on Wednesday the 11 day of June 1919 at the offices of the League, 58 Victoria Street, Westminster," *Blue Cross website*. Page 2. http://www.bluecross.org.uk/95437/Poems-lettersandbooklets.html, accessed 01 December 2014.

outside of London.[728] In 1928, the PDSA also established the sanitarium to ease the pressure on the dispensaries and the in-patient wards in London.[729] It also opened numerous free dispensaries abroad during the interwar period in Tangier, Paris, Romania, Bali, Egypt, Eire, Greece, Cape Town, South Africa, and Palestine.[730]

By the 1930s, the focus on former war horses had begun to wane in Britain, although the discovery of a large population of severely abused ex-British war horses in Egypt reignited the interests of the animal welfare organizations and the public in the plight of British war horses. When she arrived in Cairo in 1930, Dorothy Brooke, wife of General Geoffrey Brooke, was appalled by the condition of the ex-war horses on the streets of Cairo. Many of the animals were starved, ill, or severely lamed. Brooke viewed the deplorable conditions of the horses in Egypt as a form of sadistic "bondage."[731] In her diaries, she writes that while some officers destroyed their mounts after the Armistice in secret, most war horses were sold to Egyptians for labor during the casting process in 1919, and that, frequently, the new owners did not care for the animals properly, working them to death.[732] Brooke immediately brought the issue to the attention of the local RSPCA organization and began purchasing ex-war horses for humane destruction and retirement. Brooke personally supervised the finding and purchasing of the horses until she and her husband returned to England.[733] Her work won her the label the "Florence Nightingale of the war horses."[734]

In the beginning, Brooke purchased the horses with her own money or through the donations of her friends.[735] Most of the horses purchased were over the age of twenty-four by the

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[728] M.E. Dickin. *The Cry of the Animal: An Account of the Foundation and International Work of the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals* (2nd ed. London: P.D.S.A. House, 1950), 37.
[729] Ibid., 20-21.
[730] Ibid., 38 and 51.
[731] Dorothy Brooke, *For Love of Horses: The Diaries of Mrs. Geoffrey Brooke* (Oxford: Isis Publishing, 1995), 1.
[732] Ibid., 2.
[733] Ibid., 25.
[734] J.M. Brereton, *The Horse in War* (New York: Arco Publishing, 1976), 139.
[735] Brooke, *For Love of Horses*, 13.

time Brooke found them.[736] Brooke faced constant rumors and criticism regarding her early ventures; most of this criticism focused on a rumor that nearly sixty percent of all horses she purchased were actually fake war horses, which was not the case, as the war horses were easily recognizable by breed and army brands.[737]

In 1931, Brooke decided to write to the *Morning Post* in Britain, describing the situation in Egypt and to ask for public support of her war horse project.[738] She also published pamphlets, outlining the situation in Egypt and the work of her organization in part to counter the rumors.[739] Brooke was able to raise over £40,000 for her Old War Horse Fund from 1931-1935 alone.[740] The RSPCA also donated money to the Old War Horse Fund and helped to promote her cause by advertising the fund and collecting contributions for it. [741][742]King George V and Queen Mary were even among her supporters.[743]

Between 1932 and 1933, Dorothy Brooke and the head of the local RSPCA in Cairo, a Mr. Strong, had a falling out, which prompted her to create the independent Old War Horse Memorial Hospital in 1934 by Brooke.[744] She then purchased the Cairo Manure Company and used the premises to establish the Old War Horse Hospital[745] as a "memorial to our valiant old war-horses and the gallant men who rode them."[746] By 1934, she had rescued approximately 5,000 ex-war horses in Egypt. The hospital and subsequent foundation were renamed the Brooke Hospital or The Brooke after 1961.[747] Brooke regularly documented her endeavors in

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[736] Ibid., 47-48.
[737] Ibid., 98-99.
[738] Ibid., 17.
[739] Ibid., 37-38.
[740] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 139.
[741] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, July 1931), 104.
[742] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, September 1931), 137.
[743] Brooke, *For Love of Horses*, 99.
[744] Ibid., 56.
[745] The hospital was renamed in the 1960s to The Brooke; it will be referred to as such in future references to avoid name confusion.
[746] Ibid., 66-68; Ibid., "Forward."
[747] Brereton, *The Horse in War*, 140.

photographs like Figure 7.I. Here, one can see Brooke, center, posing with five rescued ex-war horses. All of the horses appear to have some form of debility, including muscle loss, deformed legs, and hoof issues. However, from their general appearance, which is less severe than her descriptions in his memoirs, the animals pictured may be some of the precious few who were rehabilitated by Brooke and her staff, compared to the large numbers of terminal cases she encountered during her crusade. One can infer from this information that the photograph might have been used as propaganda to support the charity, as the horses are prominently displayed for the camera and the scene is not a documentation of the general situation in Cairo.

Figure 7.I[748]

Along with the purchase of the ex-war horses, she also raised money for the treatment of other equines in the region, a goal which The Brooke continues to focus on today.[749] When she sent a group of her ex-war horses in 1934 to the International Horse Show at Olympia for the "parade of Old War Horses," the animals were to represent all of the 5,000 horses rescued in Egypt, including one horse named Valiant by Brooke. The Leamington and Warwickshire

[748] The Brooke. "Dorothy Brooke in Cairo with abandoned war horses." *The Brooke*. http://www.thebrooke.org/about-us/our-history/dorothy-brooke, accessed 11 August 2015.
[749] Brooke, *For Love of Horses*, 29.

Branch of the RSPCA donated £1,000 to help with the costs of transporting and caring for these horses, and Valiant in particular. Brooke wrote to the secretary of the Leamington and Warwickshire branch, "I am sending him as a representative of all his poor companions who have suffered in this country - as a sort of 'Unknown Warrior' - to the people who have helped to save the thousands of horses and mules we have purchased. I hope to be in England myself for the horse show but do, if you get the opportunity, pay a visit to Valiant and give him a pat of welcome."[750] In her letter, Brooke directly compared Valiant and the other ex-war horses to human veterans, and stated that they should act as living memorials in the same vein as the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey.

In her diary, Dorothy Brooke muses routinely about the horrific treatment of these animal veterans after the war:

> One wonders how often they have dreamt of such peace. Undoubtedly for years after their original heartless sale they looked for the straw bedding to which they were accustomed from birth, the regular feeds and water. Animals are clock-like in their habits and one wonders how long it took to break the habit of years so that they no longer looked in vain. Feed times are peak periods to any animals - they are their only sense of security. Ever since the Army sold them, these horses have, when they were not working - stood on bare stone floors or hard concrete or mud in draughty ill-ventilated ramshackle sheds (and the winter nights in Egypt are piercingly cold). They have had a minimum for food and seldom enough water, sometimes none. Horses are noted for their long memories but now so dimmed are these by ill-nourishment and hopelessness, they frequently smell cautiously at the straw we give them before gradually it dawns upon them that here at last is a bed again![751]

Brooke wrote that she often "wandered into the stables for the pure joy it gave me to watch the old horses' faces" and while most of the rescued horses were destroyed due to the severity of their conditions, "at least they passed on to the sound of English voices, speaking kindly."[752] Brooke's first rescued war horse was named "Old Bill" and the sight of his rescue shocked her:

I shall never forget the shock he gave me. I stood staring at him. Heaven knows the other horses were bad enough but somehow he was different. Obviously, he had been a good horse once. He had been happy and well fed as the other poor animals had never been. He had been born in

[750] Ibid., 101-106.
[751] Ibid., 32-33.
[752] Ibid., 90-93.

England; had known our green fields, been groomed and cared for. He had moreover served in Palestine and suffered hardships in that Campaign as few horses have endured in modern times. And then we had sold him to this. [753]
She purchased the horse for £9 and had him humanely destroyed days later.[754] Brooke also shares a story about the bonding between war horses, saying that "many of the Army horses had been together before they were sold, had been sold together, and remained side by side in cabs for heaven knows how long." When horses were brought in for sale 'in pairs', Dorothy Brooke always insisted that the pairs be stabled next to each other, "otherwise they showed obvious signs of anxiety and distress. She noticed that these old wrecks of horses, possibly because they had so little else in life, seemed to depend upon each other's companionship even more than normally is the case."[755] Brooke said that most of her work caused her "infinite pain," but continued to humanely destroy most of the animals with "the knowledge that it just *had* to be done, that their suffering *must* cease, and that their places in the sheds were urgently required for those still struggling in carts with heavy whips their only inducement to greater effort - only this makes it possible for me to do it and go on doing it day after day. My craving to be able to give them a little happiness before the end is surely natural but must at present go unfulfilled."[756]

Following up on the revelations by, and work of, Dorothy Brooke, many animal welfare organizations contacted the British War Office to enquire about future castings of the war horses. These organizations included the National Equine Defense League, the RSPCA, and the Blue Cross. The War Office in 1936 promised that "army horses which are not returned to England [would] be destroyed under supervision of the military authorities and that none [would] be sold to local inhabitants [in the future]."[757] The Blue Cross even set up a fund in Belgium and France similar to the Old War Hose Fund in 1937, for the purchase and humane destruction of ex-war

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[753] Ibid., 9-12.
[754] Ibid.
[755] Ibid., 34-35.
[756] Ibid., 33-34.
[757] War Office, *Disposal of Horses in Egypt resulting from the Mechanization of Cavalry Regiments* (1936), NA; Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, January 1931), 10; Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, April 1936), 55.

horses still alive on the former Western Front, and purchased some 4,000 ex-British war horses in Belgium for £10-£20 each.[758] Along with payment, the Blue Cross presented medals to many Belgian and French owners, who had treated their British war horses well during the interwar period.[759]

Animal Welfare and the Second World War

When war broke out in 1939, the War Office officially recognized the RSPCA as the sole society allowed to give assistance to the British Veterinary Services. The RSPCA reopened its Sick and Wounded Horse fund from the Great War and immediately shipped a horse ambulance to Palestine.[760] In August 1939, the RSPCA's Sick and Wounded Horse Fund had a balance of £20,000, which was initially used to aid British troops in the Middle East, the Greek army, the Finnish army, and later, British troops in Italy and Burma, and the Soviet army.[761]

In 1941, the RSPCA established the War Animals Allies Fund to "assist the veterinary services of our allies," specifically in the Middle East, North Africa, and in the Soviet Union.[762] With the support of the War Office, the Foreign Office, and Winston Churchill acting as the vice-president of the Fund, the RSPCA began focusing the majority of its wartime, foreign efforts on supporting Russian war horses after 1941.[763] The RSPCA War Animals Allies Fund raised £55,000 during the course of World War II, with much of the funds going to allies in Greece and the Soviet Union.[764] During the war, subscribers questioned the RSPCA's support of the Soviet Union, because they wondered if such support would brand them as communists. The RSPCA responded that, following that line of reasoning anyone who supports giving weapons and tanks

[758] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 32-3.
[759] Ibid., 43.
[760] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, November 1939), 193.
[761] Moss, *Valiant Crusade*, 124-125.
[762] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, August 1941), 59.
[763] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, February 1942), 9.
[764] Moss, *Valiant Crusade*, 126-127.

to the Russians would be a communist also and that it would be better to fight to avoid "enslavement by the Nazis" than to worry about being seen as a communist.[765]

As the Allies began to gain ground in Europe after Operation Husky (the Allied invasion of Sicily), the RSPCA created the Liberated Countries Animal Fund to give aid to animals located in recently liberated regions.[766] In June 1945, as it did in 1918, the Society wrote to remind the home front of its debt to war animals: "Now that the War in Europe is over, animal lovers may give thought to the work of rehabilitation and extension which lies ahead. […] We must not forget that the public owes a deep debt of gratitude to animals for their help in various ways towards victory. For this reason, if for no other, our efforts on their behalf should be unflagging."[767]

As early as 1938, animal welfare organizations began to prepare the public in the event of air raids, concentrating on educational materials for the care and treatment of horses during air raids. It proposed procedures for helping horses safely come through air raids: the search for emergency shelter, evacuation from the streets, use of halters and ropes, "quietening and reassuring" animals, and helping animals re-enter the street after the all-clear signal.[768] Many other animal welfare organizations also focused their efforts on helping victims of air raids and educating the public on animal safety during the Blitz.[769] The National Air Raids Precautions Animal Committee was formed at the outbreak of World War II, but by 1942 only the Blue Cross and the PDSA remained on the committee.[770]

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[765] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, August 1943), 60.
[766] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, July 1944), 53.
[767] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, June 1945), NA.
[768] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *The Animal World* (London: RSPCA, 1940), 77-78.
[769] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 192-3.
[770] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 61.

At the outbreak of World War II, the Blue Cross offered its services to the British government, and its support was once again declined.[771] Fund officials again contacted the French government about lending its support to the French army, but the fall of France in May 1940 precluded any plans for support.[772] The Blue Cross funds were maintained during the war, though they did not play as large of a role in foreign war horse welfare as in 1914.[773] The Blue Cross did award numerous medals to humans and animals for bravery and compassion during the Second World War as it had in 1918.[774] After 1945, the Blue Cross Fund once again helped with quarantine procedures for soldiers after World War II and established kennels to deal with animals of refugees.[775]

A related organization whose wartime activities took center stage in World War II was the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals. Both the PDSA and the Blue Cross planned to open hospitals in France, if needed, during the war, but, of course, the scheme never came to fruition due to the fall of France.[776] The PDSA worked on the home front to rescue animals during the Blitz, and attempted to help military mascots who had been abandoned when soldiers packed up camp.[777] The PDSA also approached the Imperial War Museum with the idea that animals in the care of fighting units should be registered. This resulted in the Mascot Roll Book, which served as the basis for the PDSA Allied Forces Mascot Club.[778] The organization created its Dickin Medal in 1943 for animals during World War II.[779] The commemorative medal was for acts of animal "gallantry." Named after the society's founder, it became known as the animals' Victoria Cross, see Figure 7.J.[780] It should be noted that a total of four horses have received the award

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[771] Ibid., 39.
[772] Ibid., 40.
[773] Our Dumb Friends' League. *Forty-sixth Annual Report for Our Dumb Friends' League* (London: Messent & Bond, LTD., 1943), 87, and 98-99.
[774] Smith, *The Blue Cross At War*, 58.
[775] Ibid., 46.
[776] Montague, *Let the Good Work Go On*, 92-3.
[777] Ibid., 93-95)
[778] Ibid., 95-96)
[779] Kean, *Animal Rights*, 196.
[780] Montague, *Let the Good Work Go On*, 96.

since its inception: three police horses in London and Jack Seely's Warrior, who was awarded the award posthumously in 2014.[781]

Figure 7.J[782]

The PDSA wrote in a 1945 pamphlet that "The loyalty of most of these dumb ones will never be known. At the tomb of the Unknown Warrior we keep in memory the thousands of brave, unknown men who fought and died for us. Our War Memorial is also a tribute to the Unknown Animals who gave their lives in service for us, or were innocent victims in our war – not theirs."[783] Finally, the PDSA purchased a fleet of treatment caravans as a form of memorial to animals during the Second World War.[784] Awarding medals to war animals and establishing mascot clubs only added to the focus on animal welfare societies' focus on soldier-animal bonding and animal veteranization, though, the process of converting war horses to war veterans continued into the new millennium, aided by the work of these organizations, the military, and the public itself.

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[781] "World War One: Warhorse Warrior Awarded Dickin Medal," *BBC News* 2 September 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-28987054, accessed 10 August 2015.
[782] "PDSA Dickin Medal," *Wikipedia.* https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dickin_Medal.jpg, 11 August 2015.
[783] People's Dispensary for Sick Animals, *The PDSA from 1939 to 1945* (London: PDSA, 1945), NA.
[784] Montague, *Let the Good Work Go On*, 92-3.

Current efforts to recognize the service of animal soldiers carry on the process of redefining the term "veteran" in society; these efforts include the commemoration of, the debate over the use of, and the memorialization of contemporary and historical animal warriors. The work of animal welfare organizations and soldiers can be seen in the veteranziation of contemporary military and police animals. This changing definition focuses on the ideas of service and sacrifice in the line of duty for both humans and animals, particularly in the commemoration of military, police, and service animals after September 11, 2001.

CHAPTER VIII

SUPPLANTATION, BONDING, AND VETERANIZATION: AN EPILOGUE

In 1929, *The Cavalry Journal* contained a key sentence: "The horse was first an animal of war, and it is inconceivable that war will ever be waged without him."[785] Since the 1970s, historians have been taking this statement to heart, focusing not only on the traditional uses of horses in society and war, but also on attitudes toward horses, on their role in the rise of animal rights, and more abstractly, on theories of agency in historical interpretation. This dissertation should expand the historiography of equine history, but it goes far beyond the study of animals in historyin its emphasis on the importance of the human-animal relationship and the influence of technology on this relationship.

Here I have tried to show that a developing trend of perceiving British war horses as war veterans rather than just as assets arose in the years surrounding the world wars. I attribute the rise of war horse veteranization to changing attitudes and practices within the British military, the increased presence of war-related efforts by animal welfare organizations, and the indirect consequences of mechanization in British society and the British military. The direct and indirect consequences of these three trends in society formed the basis for changing perspectives on the employment of, the care for, images of, and the commemoration of British war horses.

[785] Marquess of Anglesey, *A History of the British Cavalry, 1816 to 1919. Vol. 3: 1872 to 1898* (London: Leo Cooper, 1982), 389.

The pairing of machines and horses on the home front and on the battlefield during the nineteenth century created a juxtaposition that compelled soldiers, and later civilians, to question the employment of war horses in modern, industrialized warfare. The discourse on the employment of war horses no longer expressed the view that horses were natural resources to exploit and discard for the war effort, the discourse now focused on equines as partners in war, deserving of compassion and care after their service.

The technological supplantation of horses in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries led to the increased association of the horse with leisure activities and companionship. Although this supplantation was hindered by issues involving the incorporation of technology as well as its standardization, the advances in industrial technologies indirectly caused many to reevaluate the use of horses. Technology moved both the common soldier and the animal welfare activist to reinterpret sentience and moral status. To fight in an age of industrialization, soldiers were retrained by the military to pair-bond with their war horses, mainly as a means of reducing wastage rates after the major setbacks in equine economics caused by the Franco-Prussian War and the Anglo-Boer War. The military encouraged soldiers to name their assigned animal(s) and care for it as if the animal was an extension of oneself. The military also reorganized the Army Veterinary Corps to better treat war horses by creating mobile veterinary units in the field. These policy changes in the military so intensified the bonding of soldiers with their charges that soldiers began to view the animals in terms of kinship and comradeship, going so far as to use the label "veteran" in their discussions. The shared experiences of soldier and horse on the battlefields of the Great War, particularly on the Western Front and in the Middle East, intensified the pair bonding and standardized the veteranization within the military infrastructure.

During the interwar period, war horses were routinely incorporated into the commemorization and memorialization of the Great War by the British government, the military, and the public, although, a full appreciation of veteranization was more or less limited to the soldiers and animal welfarists. The Second World War saw the total mechanization of the British

military, minus the small population of war horses used as pack labor over difficult terrain during the war. For the military, the war horse became a symbol of pride, tradition, and power during the Cold War as Britain discontinued the general use of war horses globally and relegated their employment to commemoration activities and policing operations. For British society, veteranization had taken hold firmly by the 1980s, as indicated by the enthusiasm surrounding the recovery of the military horse Sefton after the Hyde Park bombing in 1982 and the use of the term "veteran" to describe military horses (and most notably dogs) on social media sites since 2000.

In all of these changes, animal welfare organizations played a major part. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals criticized on the care of Prussian and French war horses during the Franco-Prussian War, focusing on the need for mobile horse disposal units in horse to reduce equine suffering. The wastage of war horses and mules during the Anglo-Boer War encouraged the RSPCA and the Blue Cross to call for an extension of the Geneva Convention to individuals caring for war horses on the battlefield. They also influenced public commemoration and memorialization of war animals.

In World War I, the animal welfare organizations took an active role in the war effort, raising funds to help the AVC establish veterinary hospitals at the fronts and send animal welfare volunteers to the front lines. The RSPCA and the Blue Cross routinely contributed to the changing perspectives on the employment of war horses through their coverage of the conflict in their publications, the inclusion of visual propaganda in their funding campaigns, and the rhetoric they used to discuss the animals and their care-givers. It was common for the words "veteran," "comrade," and "pal" to be applied to war horses by the organizations. The most common rhetorical themes highlighted the fact that war animals had no choice in the conflict, that they were loyally "doing their bit," and that soldiers and society were indebted to war animals for their sacrifice. The animal welfare organizations published articles and produced visual media illustrating the importance of the bond between soldier and animal.

Veteranization continued during the interwar period with the publication of veteran war horse biographies and the creation of war memorials to animals. In the 1930s, war horses received heightened visibility in British society because of the revelations by Dorothy Brooke in Egypt. Her creation of the Old War Horse Fund and the Old War Horse Hospital in the 1930s led to welfare group pressure on the British government/military for policy changes regarding the casting of British war horses. The welfare organizations attempted to find any remaining British war horses on the old Western Front, much like Brooke's efforts in Egypt, though the outbreak of the Second World War forced the programs to halt.

During World War II, the RSPCA, the Blue Cross, and the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals again turned their attentions to the uses and care of animals in war. For example, the RSPCA raised funds for British and Allied war horses (and other war animals), the PDSA created the Dickin Medal and worked with the Imperial War Museum on creating the Allied Mascot Club. And they focused on helping British animals and citizens survive air raids! The animal welfare organizations continued their work to bring animal welfare and animal rights into mainstream society after the Second World War and though with the advent of the Cold War, however, financial support of the military by animal welfare societies became less common in the last decades of the century. Animal welfare organizations in the twentieth century focus on the uses of animals in the military and in society. In 2004, with their support and financial backing, the Animals in War memorial was erected in Hyde Park dedicated to war animals, focusing on animal sacrifice in wars throughout history and promoting a central place for war horses in British collective memory.

Epilogue

Although I have focused in this dissertation on the seeds of veteranization in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twenieth centuries, I feel that it is important to make a few

final notes about the current focus on animal veterans since 2000, because I want to show the fruition of the work of both the military and the animal welfare organizations over the course of more than a hundred years. Now, the public is asked to actively, or at the very least passively, remember the importance of animals in war and, by extension, animal welfare, through memorials, art installations, and commemoration paraphernalia.

The first example is the Animals in War Memorial, erected in 2004 on the East side of Hyde Park in London.[786] It was constructed of Portland stone and bronze and is made up of three interlocking designs: two bronze pack mules, a wall of "war experience," and two bronze statues of a dog and a horse. The mules symbolize the struggle of animals in war, while the outer horse and dog act as war witnesses and hope for the future of animals in war. The wall contains images of various species of war animals, arranged in a "line of ghostly silhouettes representing the animals lost in conflicts", and three inscriptions that read, "This monument is dedicated to all the animals that served and died alongside British and Allied forces in wars and campaigns throughout time … They had no choice … Many and various animals were employed to support British and Allied forces in wars and campaigns over the centuries, and as a result millions died. From the pigeon to the elephant, they all played a vital role in every region of the world in the cause of human freedom … Their contribution must never be forgotten."[787]

[786] *Animals in War Memorial*, www.animalsinwar.org.uk. Accessed 21 January 2010.
[787] *Animals in War Memorial: The Monument*, www.animalsinwar.org.uk/index.cfm?asset_id=1374, accessed 21 January 2010; Greene, Holly Jean. "Destination: London, England at the Animals in War Memorial," *Holly's Useful and Unique Pet & Vet News* https://hollyshealthypetblog.wordpress.com/2011/07/19/destinationlondonengland-at-the-animals-in-war-memorial. Accessed 25 June 2015; "Animals in War Memorial," *Animals in War Memorial Fund* http://www.animalsinwar.org.uk. Accessed 25 June 2015.

Figure 8.A[788]

 [789]

Figure 8.B

[788] *Animals in War Memorial: The Monument*, www.animalsinwar.org.uk/index.cfm?asset_id=1374, accessed 21 January 2010; Greene, Holly Jean. "Destination: London, England at the Animals in War Memorial," *Holly's Useful and Unique Pet & Vet News* https://hollyshealthypetblog.wordpress.com/2011/07/19/destinationlondonengland-at-the-animals-in-war-memorial. Accessed 25 June 2015; "Animals in War Memorial," *Animals in War Memorial Fund* http://www.animalsinwar.org.uk. Accessed 25 June 2015.

[789] *Animals in War Memorial: The Monument*, accessed 21 January 2010. www.animalsinwar.org.uk/index.cfm?asset_id=1374; Greene, Holly Jean. "Destination: London, England at the Animals in War Memorial," *Holly's Useful and Unique Pet & Vet News* https://hollyshealthypetblog.wordpress.com/2011/07/19/destinationlondonengland-at-the-animals-in-war-memorial. Accessed 25 June 2015; "Animals in War Memorial," *Animals in War Memorial Fund* http://www.animalsinwar.org.uk. Accessed 25 June 2015.

In Figures 8.A and 8.B, we can see the multi-faceted design of the memorial. It continues the tradition of focusing public memory on animal sacrifice and human debt; however, it also emphasizes the importance of animals in the achievement of "human freedom" around the world. Onlookers are encouraged, through the design of the memorial, to explore the space and to interact with the structure on a personal level. Unlike the Kilburn Dispensary, the Animals in War Memorial exists, not for assemblies, but for the sake of memory only, meaning that the space does not incorporate any obvious utility. A new war horse memorial project is currently under development and is set to be unveiled in July 2015 in the area that formerly housed the Romny Remount Depot during the Great War. The unveiling was attended by the Princess Royal, members of the British military, and Joey, the life-sized puppet from the play *War Horse*.[790]

Figure 8.C[791]

The second case is an art installation entitled "Collateral," by the artist Deborah Van Der Beck. The sculpture is dedicated to the approximately eight million horses that died during the First World War on all campaigns. The artist used "spent munitions" from the recent wars in

[790] "Romsey War Horse Project." *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/romseywarhorse, accessed 11 June 2015.
[791] "Romsey War Horse Project." *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/romseywarhorse, accessed 11 June 2015.

Afghanistan and Iraq.[792] What makes this installation so fascinating is the artist's micro-depiction of the suffering of war horses on the face of the iron, horse skull. Like the Animals in War Memorial and the Romny War Horse Memorial, "Collateral" asks the viewer to actively make memory of the employment and suffering of animals in war, using a more aggressive technique to engage the onlooker's memory construction by using spent shells as the material for the sculpted horse's head. Figure 8.D shows "Collateral" and was taken in Somerset in 2014.

Figure 8.D[793]

The purple poppy, created in 2007 by Animal Aid in Britain is my final example of remembering the horse veteran. George Mosse and Paul Fussell have discussed the importance of the red poppies in the memorialization and commemoration of the Great War; they are worn in Britain every November to signify public remembrance of the Great War and of sacrifice in

[792] Deborah Van Der Beek, "Collateral, displayed at Bath Abbey, Somerset," http://westernindependent.blogspot.com/2014_10_01_archive.html. Accessed 28 January 2015.
[793] Deborah Van Der Beek, "Collateral, displayed at Bath Abbey, Somerset," http://westernindependent.blogspot.com/2014_10_01_archive.html. Accessed 28 January 2015.

war.[794] In recent years, the white poppy has come to be a plea for peace or pacifism, and the purple poppy is more a commemoration of "animal victims in war." It was created by Animal Aid in 2007 to and has attracted a following among animal-lovers, celebrities, and on social media.[795] Like the red poppy, one is able to purchase a commemorative Animal Aid poppy, in the form of a croqueted brooch. Figures 8.E and 8.F show a recent example of the purple poppy as compared to the traditional red version.

Figures 8.E and 8.F[796]

In the updated version of her 1983 book, Jilly Cooper writes, "I hope in years to come when our beautiful memorial is finally in place that passers by (sic) will stop and remember not just the dogs and horses and donkeys, but also the camels, the elephants, mules, pigeons, cats, canaries and many more. Even the tiny glow-worms lit the soldiers' maps in the First World War. Remember them all – they had no choice."[797] The focus on sacrifice, societal debt, and memory are at the heart of the process of veteranization, not just for war horses. Since the first

[794] George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 111.
[795] "Purple Poppy to Commemorate Animal Victims," *Animal Aid* accessed 11 June 2015. http://www.animalaid.org.uk/h/n/NEWS/pr_other/ALL/1689//.
[796] "Poppy Collection Croquet Brooch," *The Poppy Shop* www.poppyshop.org.uk. Accessed 25 June 2015; "Crochet Vegan Purple Poppy Pin Badge Brooch," *Etsy* www.etsy.com. Accessed 25 June 2015.
[797] Jilly Cooper, *Animals in War: Valiant Horses, Courageous Dogs, and Other Unsung Animal Heroes* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2002), 16.

seeds of veteranization were planted during the nineteenth century, the conversion of war horses from brute resources to veterans has undergone dramatic changes in human society. I conclude with the words of Judd Greg: "The veterans of our military services have out their lives on the line to protect the freedoms that we enjoy. They have dedicated their lives to their country and deserve to be recognized for their commitment."[798] With this one statement, we see the distillation of voices heard within the British military and animal welfare organizations in the face of industrialized, total war. Changing attitudes and activities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have ensured the inclusion of war horses in British history as agents of social change and collective memory. These memorials emphasize the incorporation of war animals into our collective memory of war. All of the memorials, except Figure 4.D, focus on the service and sacrifice of animals in war while not critiquing the continued militarization of animals in society. Figure 4.D, however, focuses exclusively on the sacrifice of war horses, going so far as to criticize the use of horses in war, through the artist's incorporation of the spent munitions into the skull. At present, the purpose of most war animal memorials is to reminder the public of the importance of animals in war and society and establishing a historical narrative for the public that gives agency to human-animal relations.

I have had to reserve some issues for future research due to the scope of my disseretation. First, I noticed that there appears to be a class divide when it comes to the veteranization and even the ability to voice one's concern and empathy for horses in war/society. Most of my examples come from the middle class and, occassionally, from the aristocracy. I have been hard-pressed to single-out any examples from working class individuals, either in the military or in the animal welfare movement. I feel that this emphasis on class, with its class perceptions and even class warfare, play an influential role in the trajectory of veteranization, not just for animals. It is common knowledge that the animal welfare movement in Britain was dominated by the middle

[798] "Veteran Quotes, *BrainyQuote* http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/keywords/veterans.html. Accessed 25 June 2015.

class and that the middle class focused much of their educational and prosecutorial energies on the working classes. I would be interested in following this line of discussion, and focus on the role that class played in veteranization during this period, particularly if primary sources from the working class could be obtained. I am less than optimistic, however, about finding such sources, given the level of literacy during the nineteenth century. Second, I noticed that much of my data concerned individuals who had previous equine knowledge and affinities during the period. Did this make them more apt to enlist in areas of the military where they would have a chance to deal with horses? I also wonder if, because of their experience with horses prior to service, they were predisposed to bond with their animals and view them less as mindless objects? Third, I would like to explore further the apparent racism and orientalism I have found in the accounts of the casting of war horses in the Middle East during the interwar period. Fourth, I chose to focus only on war horses, despite the fact that war dogs and war pigeons were heavily involved in the World Wars. I would be interested to see if the theory of veteranization holds true for either or both of these other war animals during the twenieth century. I am inclined to believe that, at least in the case of war dogs, veteranization would hold true in the decades following the Second World War, particularly in light of the increased coverage in the news and social media regarding military dogs. Fifth, it was brought to my attention, by an American Civil War historian, that there may be a parallel trend between animal studies and slavery studies during the nineteenth and twenieth centuries, particuarly in terms of the ideological trend of "from beast to being." I believe that one can make a case for this trend; however, the discussion would require the further investigation of the animal rights movement since the 1960s for vertification. Finally, my research has brought up questions regarding important paralells between developments in equine medical history and human medical history. Outside of the rise of the AVC, I believe that this line of investigation warrents further research, as it could play an influential role in the rise of veteranization and animal welfare/rights. This research has opened a wide range of future project for me and I look

forward to exploring the themese of class, racism, international trade relations, and memorialization in my future endeavors.

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APPENDICES

Table 3.A

Total British Horse population from 1811-1924 (in thousands)

	1811	1871	1891	1901	1911	1924
Urban	487	858	1358	1766	1522	926
Ag	800	1254	1481	1511	1495	965
Total	1287	2112	2839	3276	3017	1888

[799]

[799] F.M.L. Thompson, "Nineteenth-Century Horse Sense," *The Economic History Review* 29 (Feb., 1976): 80.

Table 3.B

1911-1912 Informal British Horse Census for Potential Military Endeavors
(Not including Ireland)

Type	Amount for BEF	Amount for Territorials and Cavalry
Saddle Horses	24,000	27,000
Light Horse	14,000	34,000
Suitable for Artillery	28,000	43,000
Light Draught	23,000	58,000
Heavy Draught	52,000	145,000
Totals	141,000	307,000
Total for British military	462,000	

[800]

[800] Ann Hyland, *The Warhorse in the Modern Era: The Boer War to the Beginning of the Second Millennium* (Stockton-on-Tees, UK: Black Tent Publications, 2010), 64-65.

Table 4.B

Total Strength and Breakdown of Equine Types on all
British-Fighting Theaters and Armies (1917-1920)

	Riding Horses	Light Draught	Heavy Draught	Pack	Other horses	Total Horses	Total Mules	Total Equines
1917	197,950	235,011	88,191	9,119	61,053	591,324	213,321	804,645
1918	193,747	221,006	89,240	9,163	20,017	533,173	230,975	764,148
1919	56,753	32,035	18,550	1,200	3,156	111,694	79,223	199,417
1920						69,985	34,655	104,640

[801]

[801] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War, 1914-1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), 400-403.

Table 4.C

Breakdown of Total Equine Wastage Rates by Theater and Year (1914-1918) In Percentage

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
UK	4.61	9.98	11.75	15.81	16.3
France	12.58	14.32	14.09	28.5	24.24
Italy				1.19	12.18
Egypt		11.77	14.2	13.24	10.33
Salonica		1.15	8.07	10.45	5.81
Mesopotamia			1.82	8.23	6.02
East Africa	16.15	66.86	289.5	238.3	186.61

[802]

[802] War Office, *Statistics of Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War, 1914-1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), 880-881.

Table 4.D

1917 Horses Census by the Board of Trade Inter-Departmental Committee on the Utilisation and Feeding of Horses

Foals, Yearlings and Two Year Olds in Great Britain	Heavy 256,593	Light 157,581	Total 414,174	
Horses 3 and up in Great Britain and 2 and up in Ireland	Under 5 years	5-12 years	Over 12 years	Total
Ponies and Cobs under 15 hands	63,447	203,769	165,066	432,282
Riding and Hunters under 15 hands	15,688	23,415	12,523	51,626
Carriage and Trap Horses	8,947	37,760	37,293	84,000
Light Trade and Trotting Vanners	17,077	135,225	103,433	255,735
Horses for Agricultural Purposes	273,970	486,824	355,126	1,115,920
Other Heavy Draught, or Dray Horses	22,881	169,995	88,994	281,870
Total	402,010	1,056,988	762,435	2,221,433
Thoroughbreds				15,166
Total Horses of all Ages and Classes				2,650,773

[803]

[803] Board of Trade Inter-Departmental Committee on the Utilisation and Feeding of Horses, *Report on the Census of Horses taken on the 21st April, 1917, in Great Britain, and on the 1st June, 1917, in Ireland* (London: HMSO, 1917), 4.

Table 5.A

The Casting of War Horses from 1916 to the Armistice on all Front

Category	Number of Animals	Financial Amount	Average Prices
Sold to farmers and breeders	7,775	£168,868	
Sold to Paris Horse butchers	28,384	£364,438	£1 s16
Sold to local Horse butchers	16,578	£231,621	£14
Dealt with by Butchery Detachments and issued to Labor Companies and Prisoners of War	4,536	£65,206	£20
Dealt with in Horse Carcass Economizers for By-Products	7,061	£28,244	£4
Totals	64,334	£858,377	

804

[804] John Moore, Major-General, *Our Servant the Horse: An Appreciation of the Part Played by Animals during the War, 1914-1918* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1934), 26-28.

Table 5.B

The Casting of War Horses from the Armistice until March 31, 1919

Category	Number of Animals	Financial Amount	Average Prices
Sold to farmers and breeders	112,132	£3,778,907	
Sold to Paris Horse butchers	8,664	£160,474	£18 s10
Sold to local Horse butchers	20,679	£414,919	£20
Dealt with by Butchery Detachments and issued to Labor Companies and Prisoners of War	3,903	£76,665	£20
Dealt with in Horse Carcass Economizers for By-Products	6,699	£26,796	£4
Totals	152,077	£4,457,761	

[805]

[805] John Moore, Major-General, *Our Servant the Horse: An Appreciation of the Part Played by Animals during the War, 1914-1918* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1934), 26-28.

Table 5.C

The Monthly Casting Totals for British War Horses
during Demobilization, November 1918 –March 1919

Week Ending	Strength	Died or Destroyed	Disposal by Sale	Disposal by Butchers	Remount Sales	Total Disposal	Total Per month
Feb 6	326286	606	4177	2486	0	7269	
13	312925	612	6238	2132	0	8982	
20	292824	619	12963	2654	914	17150	
27	260061	550	16791	3125	550	21016	54417
Mar 6	222917	457	20450	3185	1762	25854	
13	193260	371	19896	2990	2224	25481	
20	160936	308	17049	2889	1797	22043	
27	135228	256	13680	2244	1585	17765	91143
Apr 3	116678	205	7062	1248	1706	10221	
10	47813	81	587	721	1337	2726	
17	39833	111	1159	771	1258	3299	
24	31866	47	4757	503	884	6191	22437
May 1	26665	38	1758	265	847	2908	
8	28432	31	1353	189	952	2525	
15	27079	21	2061	139	0	2221	
22	25790	22	1037	164	899	3122	
29	23289	24	2308	108	599	3039	13815
Jun 5	24088	21	1094	159	542	1816	
12	22553	27	923	76	395	1421	
19	24703	15	102	117	390	624	
26	23063	21	4	98	400	523	4384
Jul 3	22866	8	485	95	397	985	
10	21915	15	0	82	594	691	
17	20169	20	957	64	596	1637	
24	19933	19	0	72	359	450	
31	20004	12	210	60	594	875	4639
Totals		4517	137101	26636	21581	190835	

[806]

[806] John Moore, Major-General, *Army Veterinary Service in War* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1921), 179.

Table 5.D

Comparison of the 1924 and 1934 Horse Censuses in Britain

	Number of Returns	Number of Returns	Decrease Totals	Decrease Percentage
	1924	1934		
England and Wales	434,601	319,768	114,833	26
Scotland	60,948	46,647	14,301	23
Great Britain	495,549	366,415	129,134	26
In Towns with population over 50,000				
England and Wales	63,153	38,062	25,091	40
Scotland	6,622	4,091	2,531	38
Great Britain	69,775	42,153	27,622	40
Grand Total of Horses of all Ages and Classes in Great Britain	1,892,205	1,263,507	628,698	33

[807]

[807] War Office, "Report on the Census of Horses in Great Britain, 1934," (London: HMSO, 1935), 2-3.

VITA

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